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## A Late Byzantine Theology of Canon Law

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THE HIEROMONK MATTHEW BLASTARES, A FOURTEENTH CENTURY canonist and theologian, resided in the Thessalonikan monastery of the Theotokos Peribleptos (τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Περιβλέπτου). He was an anti-unionist who held a position of respect in the eyes of the imperial family and was closely involved in the hesychast controversy.<sup>1</sup> The Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείων τῶν ἐμπερι-

<sup>1</sup> The main sources for Matthew Blastares' life are manuscript annotations, correspondence, and selected passages from his works. Secondary works dealing with Blastares include encyclopedia articles, one major book that focuses on his hymnography and includes a brief study of his life and writings, several rare Russian translations and studies completed during the Tsarist, and a few articles and books dealing with diverse aspects of his life and canonical work, particularly concerned with his historical position and influence on Slavic legislation. The encyclopedia articles are as follows: H. G. Beck, "Blastares, Matthaeus," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1931, vol. 1, 1319; P. Chrestou, "Βλάσταρις, Ματθαῖος," *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 3, 928-30; V. Grummel, "Blastares, Matthieu," *Catholicisme*, vol. 2, 84-85; J. Herman, "Blastarès, (Matthieu)," *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, vol. 2, 920-25; R. Janin, "Blastarès, (Matthieu)," *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, vol. 9, 161; idem, "Matthaios Blastares," *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1962, vol. 7, 173; L. Petit, "Blastarès, Matthieu," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 2, 916-17. The major book devoted to Blastares is B. P. Paschos, *Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης καὶ τὸ Ὑμνογραφικὸν Ἔργον Του* (Thessalonike, 1978). Translations and studies completed during the Tsarist period include the following: N. Il'inskiy, *Sintagma Matfeya Vlastarya solunskago ieromonakha* (Moscow, 1892); idem, *Sobraniye po alfavitnomu poryadku vsekh predmetov sodержashchikhnya v svyashchennikh i bozhestvennykh kanonakh sostavlennoye i obrabotannoe smirenneyshim ieromonakhom Matfeyem ili Alfavitnaya Sintagma M. Vlastarya* (Simferopol', 1892, 2nd ed. 1901); A. Pavlov, "Komu prinadlezhat kanonicheskiye otvety, avtorom kotorykh schitalsya Ioann episkop kitrskiy (XIII veka)?" *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 1 (1894) 493-502; idem, "Kanonicheskiye otvety Nikity mitro-

*εὐλημμένων ἀπασῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς κανόσι πονηθέν τε ἅμα καὶ συντεθέν τῷ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις ἐλαχίστῳ Ματθαίῳ*, his major canon law work, is dated 1335, a year before the eruption of the hesychast controversy which began with the dispute of Barlaam and Palamas in 1336/1337.<sup>2</sup> It was an extremely popular work, evidenced by the abundance of its manuscripts including various Slavic translations, e.g., Serbian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Russian, and Slavonic.<sup>3</sup>

The *Syntagma* was intended to be a theological and legal handbook for Orthodox clerics who during the reign of the emperor Andronikos III Palaeologos were given a large role in the Byzantine judicial system.<sup>4</sup> The canonical material contained in the

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polita Irakliyskago (XI - XII veka) v ikh pervonachal'nom vide i v pozdneyshey pererabotke Matfeya Vlastarya (XIV v.)," *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 2 (1895) 160-76. Other studies on diverse subjects connected with Blastares include: N. P. Matses, "Περὶ τὴν παράφρασιν τοῦ Συντάγματος τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κουνιάλη Κριτοπούλου," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 34 (1965) 175-201; B. P. Paschos, "'Αγνωστα ἔργα τοῦ Βλάσταρι,'" *Θεολογία* 43 (1972) 810-12; A. Soloviev, "L'oeuvre juridique de Matthieu Blastarès," *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 4 (1936) 698-707; G. I. Theoharides, "'Ο Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρις καὶ ἡ Μονὴ τοῦ κϋρ — Ἰσαὰκ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ,'" *Byzantion*, 40 (1970) 437-59; S. Troianos, "Περὶ τὰς νομικὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 44 (1979-80) 205-329; Sergei V. Troitski, *Dopunski chlantsi Vlastareve Sintagme* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> *An alphabetical collection of all subjects that are contained in the sacred and divine canons, prepared and at the same time organized by Matthew the least amongst hieromonks.* This is the full title of the main work under consideration. It will be referred to as *Syntagma*. This work was published in volume six of G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852-59). No critical edition exists. In the preface of the *Syntagma*, there is a key text which dates the writing (Rhalles and Potles, 6.27): "As it would neither be the case that time escapes the one who refers to this work, he that under the light of the sun brought forth the matters of this study, measured exactly the flow of years after sixfold one thousand years, and again eightfold one hundred three and forty years." The year 6843 by Byzantine reckoning from the creation of the world is equivalent to 1335 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> The Serbian translation of the *Syntagma* is dated ca. 1340 by A. Soloviev and was used during the lifetime of the author as a legal code in the empire of Stephen Dušan (1331-55). In this translation, approximately ninety-two percent of the ecclesiastical material was eliminated. For general information concerning translations and the widespread use of Blastares' work, see Soloviev, 698-707.

<sup>4</sup> For the role of the clergy see: L. Petit, "La réforme judiciaire d'Andronic Paléologue (1329)," *Echos d'Orient*, 9 (1906) 134-38; P. Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III," in *Memorial Louis Petit* (Bucarest, 1948) 292-316; idem. "Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à

*Syntagma* is organized according to subject. These subjects are covered in 303 numbered chapters. In turn, the chapters are distributed in twenty-four sections corresponding to the letters of the Greek alphabet. Eighty-one of these chapters combine both civil and ecclesiastical material; eighty, only ecclesiastical; thirty-one, only civil; and one hundred eleven are references to other chapters. The entire collection is preceded by a preface that contains a history of ecclesiastical law up to the Photian Council of 879, and a history of civil legislation up to the reign of Leo the Wise (886-912). The *Syntagma* exerted a significant influence on Byzantine Christian thought and remained a major theological and canonical resource for Greek Orthodox clergy until the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> This brief study will review the preface of this work in order to understand Blastares' theological perspective on canon law.

The preface of the *Syntagma* may be divided into three main sections. In the first part, Blastares using a variety of biblical images, sets forth his basic views concerning the nature of canon law and its development. He describes the development of ecclesiastical law as the growth of the theandrical commonwealth of the Logos

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l'époque des Paléologues, 1 — Le tribunal impérial," in *Mélanges Henri Gregoire* (Bruxelles, 1949) 369-84; idem. "Recherches sur les institutions judiciaires à l'époque des Paléologues, 2. Le tribunal du patriarchat ou tribunal synodal," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950) 318-33; idem. "Documents et problèmes nouveaux concernant les juges généraux," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, 4 (1966) 29-44; I. Sevcenko, "Léon Bardales et les juges généraux ou la corruption des incorruptibles," *Byzantion*, 19 (1949) 247-59. Lemerle and Soloviev believe that the *Syntagma* of Blastares was popular because it was uniquely qualified to meet the needs of ecclesiastics who had obtained a large role in the administration of justice both as general judges and in the patriarchal tribunal, Soloviev, 700, 706-07; Lemerle, "Le juge général," p. 301. This unique qualification lies in Blastares' encyclopaedic organization of both ecclesiastic and civil law concerning subjects of importance to the Church of his day.

<sup>5</sup> Blastares' utilization of legal material from both ecclesiastical and civil sources is not unusual in the history of Byzantine law. Such collections were usually called Nomocanons. For general information see H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), pp. 140-47; J. A. B. Mortreuil, *Histoire du Droit Byzantin*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1843-46; reprint ed., Osnabrück, 1966), 1, pp. 199-200; C. de Clercq, "Byzantin (DROIT CANONIQUE)," *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique*, 2 (Paris, 1937) 1170-76; H. J. Scheltema, "Byzantine Law," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J. M. Hussey, vol. 4, *The Byzantine Empire*, part 2: *Government, Church, and Civilization* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 61-62. For consideration of the *Syntagma* as a Nomocanon, see Il'inskiy, *Sintagma* (Simferopol', 1892, 2nd ed. 1901).

in the world (τῆς θεανδρικῆς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πολιτείας τοῦ Λόγου).<sup>6</sup> The canonist likens this development to the flowering of a plant.<sup>7</sup> In course of human time, the Logos is said to preserve canon law or the flower of God (τὴν ἀκμὴν Θεοῦ) through the support of His grace.<sup>8</sup> The canons are compared to the "precious stones" (λιθίους τιμίους) that are "varied" (ποικίλον) and "differentiated" (διάφορον), and over whom the "gates of Hell" (τὰς τοῦ ᾄδου πύλας) will not prevail.<sup>9</sup> This appears to be a reference to Matthew 16.18, where, according to late Byzantine interpretations, the faith of Peter expressed in his confession is confirmed by the Lord as being the foundation upon which the Church will be built.<sup>10</sup> The words "precious stones" also suggest a reference to 1 Corinthians 3.11-14, where "λιθίους τιμίους" are mentioned in relation to the building of a house constructed on the foundation of Jesus Christ. This foundation is very likely understood by the hieromonk as the rock of faith that will be capable of withstanding the fires of that day. Blastares' reference to variation and differentiation recalls Romans 12.6, where the Church is described as one body consisting of members with different charismata. The canonist draws a parallel between the structure of the body of Christ and the canons by stating that the latter are "placed together" (συντιθέμενοι) and "fitted" (συναρμολογούμενοι) to compose the "economy of the Church" (τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑφαίνοντες οἰκονομίαν).<sup>11</sup>

Blastares describes this flower of God as "sharing no fruit of time's scheme" (μηδὲν τῆς τοῦ χρόνου παραπολαῦσαν ἐπιβουλῆς).<sup>12</sup> This suggests a reference to John 4.36, where "fruit for eternal life" (καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον) is contrasted to that of temporal life. In relation to the theandrical commonwealth of the Logos, the canons have an eternal significance and value inasmuch as

<sup>6</sup> Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>7</sup> Blastares states that the canons "blossomed" (ἤρθησε), Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>8</sup> Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>9</sup> Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>10</sup> For a general discussion of Byzantine thought on this subject, see J. Meyendorff, "St. Peter in Byzantine Theology," in *The Primacy of Peter in the Orthodox Church* (Bedfordshire, 1963; 2d 1973), pp. 7-29. For a modern Orthodox discussion, see P. Boumis, "The Rock (Petra) of the Apostle Peter," *Ἀρχεῖον Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ Κανονικοῦ Δικαίου*, 34 (1984) 38-49.

<sup>11</sup> Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>12</sup> Rhalles and Potles, 6.1.



they represent its divine nature. Civil legislation is viewed by the canonist as the human dimension. The commonwealth is identified as a Christian empire combining divine and human law in a manner similar to the Chalcedonian definition of dyophysitism.<sup>13</sup>

The divine nature of the canons raises the question of whether all canons must be valid and equally applied. Blastares appears to resolve this problem in his description of Carthage:

The Synod in Carthage, which had Cyprian the Great as an exarch, is recorded to be more ancient than all the ecumenical and local synods. It also increased in number to eighty-four bishops. Indeed they produced only one decision in the form of a canon, that those who were formerly baptized by all heretics and schismatics, who enter the Catholic Church, were to be baptized again, (meaning in an obscure way the schismatics around Novatian). For at that time, his heresy intruded into the Church perniciously. Basil the Great has also made mention of this decree in his first canon, citing it out of approval but at the same time decreeing it null on account of economy (οἰκονομίας δὲ χάριν). Indeed, the Second Ecumenical Synod in its seventh canon decreed against it. On account of this, mark you, the Sixth Ecumenical Synod stated that the canon which was set forth by these fathers, prevailed only in their own localities and according to the custom that was handed down to them. For this canon, as it appears, followed logically from circumstances at that time. Wherefore, the changing of these circumstances also changed this canon to no longer be in effect.<sup>14</sup>

The solution offered by Blastares is that canon law expresses God's truth perfectly, given the time and circumstances. If the circum-

<sup>13</sup>In Blastares' work, the word πολιτεία is used to designate the empire, see for example *Syntagma* Γ.4. Law, Rhallés and Potles, 6.158; A.13. Fourth Synod 28 and Sixth Synod 92, Rhallés and Potles, 6.102. The human is called to conform to the divine nature in a type of dyophysitism. This appears to underlie Blastares' statement that civil legislation is cited in his work when it "aids and agrees" with the canons (Rhallés and Potles, 6.5): "I have considered it worthwhile to also join to related chapters of canons both brief and abridged ones of civil legislation that aid and agree with the sacred canons, and witness superabundantly to their soundness."

<sup>14</sup>Rhallés and Potles, 6.8.

stances change, certain canons may not express the truth and therefore can be suspended on the basis of "economy." The hieromonk is expressing the notion that the incarnation of the faith or divine truth which takes place in the canons, occurs according to the different circumstances that the Church sojourning in the world finds Herself. Ecclesiastical legislation expresses spiritual truth given different material circumstances. If these conditions change, a specific canon may no longer be applicable and thus becomes null. The reduction of canon law to purely temporal or worldly law is avoided because its source is divine and expresses divine truth, although only in relation to particular historical circumstances and conditions. In this sense, the canons are a divine-human reality parallel to the two natures of the Savior and are an expression of the Church's theandric economy.

One of the major theological themes of the preface is the defeat of Satan. Blastares describes the overcoming of the devil as a withering into "nonexistence" (ἀνύπαρκτον), which the evil one is said to possess by nature.<sup>15</sup> Satan makes two attempts to prevail. The first was made in the temptation of Adam and Eve, the second through "counterfeit and deceptive dogmas" (νόθοις καὶ ἀπατηλοῖς δόγμασι).<sup>16</sup> However, the evil one is discovered by the Church to be a "wolf" (λύκος) and his efforts are consequently frustrated.<sup>17</sup> The leaders of the heresies are cast in the role of Satan's servants and are portrayed as wolves in the midst of the Lord's flock.

Blastares states that Satan is discovered and defeated through ecumenical and local councils.<sup>18</sup> The ecumenical synods are defined as synods assembled by the command of the emperor, inspired "by the Holy Spirit," and composed of bishops from the entire empire.<sup>19</sup> The clergy that attend the councils are described as presiding over a "flock" entrusted to them and as submitting to the apostles in the performance of this duty.<sup>20</sup> This submission to the apostles refers to the apostolic charge of Christ to sustain the

<sup>15</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.1.

<sup>16</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.1-2.

<sup>17</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.2; a scriptural reference perhaps to Matthew 7.15 or Acts 20.29, where Satan is also described as a wolf.

<sup>18</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>19</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>20</sup>Rhalls and Potles, 6.2.

flock of the Church.<sup>21</sup> The canonist believes that this divine injunction applies to the successors of the apostles, the bishops of the Christian commonwealth.

Local synods are composed of "bishops from an eparchy who are assembled to their exarch, not gathered from the entire empire."<sup>22</sup> They are concerned with the "confirmation of what was determined by previous synods," the "purification" (καθαίρεσιν) or correction "of they that dare to oppose these things," and the treatment of those "canons and questions that contribute to the good order of the Church."<sup>23</sup> The words "good order" (εὐταξίαν) imply that this legislation mainly concerns administration. These canons uproot heresy and serve as guides to salvation. Blastares likens them to rods and states that they are used to beat the "tyrant."<sup>24</sup> This comparison is expanded in his later discussion of the word 'canon.'

In contrast, the ecumenical council is described as making "better judgement" regarding faith and heresy.<sup>25</sup> Heresy is identified with "moral defilement" and is said to be repelled by the "arms of truth" or the articulation of the faith.<sup>26</sup> The main province of the ecumenical synod is "general dogma" (κοινοῦ δόγματος) rather than administration.<sup>27</sup>

In both cases, Blastares states that the synods legislated universally: "They legislated for masters and slaves, rulers and ruled, parents and children, men and women, married and unmarried, continent and wanton, wise and ignorant."<sup>28</sup> All are called to obey them fully "since much is necessary for commanders or soldiers."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup>John 21.15.

<sup>22</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>23</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>24</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>25</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>26</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>27</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.2.

<sup>28</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4.

<sup>29</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4. However, greater requirements of virtue are made for those in the priesthood. Clergy are likened to the angelic orders (Rhalles and Potles, 6.4): "Greater zeal for these things was appointed in the case of the royal priesthood of the Church, so that those who are allotted to draw near to God might not be seen as unworthy to draw near Him by living contrary to His will. They are not to put forward as an excuse the burden put on nature, but their

The hieromonk traces the course of the victory over the devil. The establishment of the divine kerygma is described as escaping Satan's notice.<sup>30</sup> The blood of Christian martyrs during the Roman persecutions is seen as necessary for the struggle in behalf of the truth.<sup>31</sup> This narrative culminates in a description of an assembly composed of "valorous ones" (τῶν ἀριστέων) held at the conclusion of these trials, a clear reference to the first ecumenical council of Nicaea, many of whose bishops underwent the persecution of Diocletian: "Accordingly, when these valorous ones had assembled in common, the Church at this time established the sacred and divine canons as divine oracles that were brought down from above, no less in honor and veneration than the Divine Gospels, since the latter were simply the sources and roots of the former."<sup>32</sup> Canon law is portrayed as the fruit of the Church's struggles and the foundation of its economy on earth. In particular, the canonist affirms the divine nature of the canons by viewing them as an extension of the Gospel and thus of the redemption worked by the Logos.

After having discussed the councils as a source of canon law, Blastares turns to the writings of the Fathers. Patristic writings are regarded as canons if they bear "the type" or form of a canon and are "adopted" as laws through "receptions of synods" (τοῖς προλαβοῦσι τῶν Συνόδων).<sup>33</sup> By receiving or acknowledging certain texts, Church councils recognize the "kinship" (τὸ συγγενές) of these writings to synodal "inquiries" or decisions, as well as their divine "inspiration" (ἐπινοίας) and consequent "recognition by many witnesses" (τῷ πολλοῖς μαρτυρίοις ἐπιγνωσθῆναι).<sup>34</sup> This last condition entails continuous use of a writing by the Church; in Blastares' poetic terms, a "showing forth through everything just as stars" (τῷ διὰ πάντων ἐκλάμψαι . . . ὥσπερ ἀστέρας).<sup>35</sup> The

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nobleness of the soul is to become as much as possible like that of the angels surrounding God and they are to represent that which is angelic, with matter (μετὰ ὕλης δεικνύναι)."

<sup>30</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

<sup>31</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

<sup>32</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

<sup>33</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

<sup>34</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

<sup>35</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3.

hieromonk cites Saints Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian as examples of Fathers who produced canonical writings.<sup>36</sup>

Blastares finally discusses the importance of canon law within spiritual life. He refers to the "foster children of piety" (τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας τροφίμους) who bind "the perpetual motion of the soul" (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀεικίνητον) to the canons.<sup>37</sup> The phrase "foster children of piety" expresses the notion that Christians in general are adopted through grace as progeny of God. Perpetual motion refers to spiritual progress. This progress advances by recognition of "legitimate doctrines" and "continued practice in good thoughts or works."<sup>38</sup> The canons are described as a means of distinguishing "the straightforward from the crooked and the genuine from the false."<sup>39</sup> Ecclesiastical laws are said to be more accurate than "any stone of Lydia" (πάσης λίθου λυδίας).<sup>40</sup> They are also described as "medicines" (τὰ φάρμακα) and "prescriptions" (τὰ ἐπιτάγματα) used for the treatment of the spiritually "diseased" (τῶν νοσοῦντων).<sup>41</sup> Canon law is a prescription in determining penance for the correction of moral faults.

Blastares sums up his thought on the spiritual nature of the canons in the following way: "Thus we have been persuaded that these guides and leaders of a pious commonwealth, which show the way to eternal life, are a reward and gift of God, a dogma of noble and God-bearing men, a new covenant of the Church, and

<sup>36</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.3. However, Blastares does not mention Gregory the Theologian as a canonical writer in this section of the preface dealing with the history of ecclesiastical legislation.

<sup>37</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4.

<sup>38</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4. Spiritual advancement results in "inspired visions from the sight of dreams" (τὰς ἐξ ὀφθαλμοῦ ὁνείρων φαντασίας ἐνθέους). This reference to "visions" may be influenced by the notion of divine contemplation or θεωρία discussed by St. John Klimakos in the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, a work that Blastares is credited with translating into vernacular Greek. St. John describes contemplation as resulting from the purification of mind and body (PG 88.1148): "Therefore, this is the step of the uncompleted perfection of the perfect, as one that tasted of it instructed me. Thus it (dispassion, ἀπάθεια) sanctifies the mind and snatches (ἀφαρπάζει) it away from material things, so that for most of the life in the flesh, after apprehension (κατάληψιν) of this heavenly harbor, what has removed a man into heaven will raise him to contemplation (θεωρεῖν)."

<sup>39</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4.

<sup>40</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4; ἡ λυδία λίθος was a stone used to determine the presence of gold, see Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, Roderick McKenzie, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968), p. 1064.

<sup>41</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.4.

a correction of voluntary and involuntary sins.”<sup>42</sup>

The hieromonk ends this section of his preface by giving a definition of the word “canon”: “The Fathers who used this figurative expression, named their own decrees canons, from the metaphor of a straight rod, which was customarily used by those that pursued the arts of craftsmanship for the straightness of woods or stones or whatever else. For when placed upon materials that were being finished, it made these straight and even for their accurate joining together.”<sup>43</sup> Blastares thus considers ecclesiastical laws to be guides that allow for the correct shaping of each individual member of the Church in order that they might be joined into one body or structure built on the foundation of Christ, the cornerstone.<sup>44</sup>

The second section of Blastares’ preface is dedicated to a history of ecclesiastical and civil law.<sup>45</sup> He states that the purpose of this history is to lead to a greater understanding of the canons.<sup>46</sup> The hieromonk proposes to follow a chronological order, noting the emperors during whose reign canons were composed.<sup>47</sup>

Blastares states that in his *Syntagma* he has utilized the texts of the original canons, canonical commentaries, and the civil legislation that “aids and agrees with the sacred canons.”<sup>48</sup> The sources of Blastares’ ecclesiastical material can be identified through his history of Church law.<sup>49</sup> These sources consist of ecumenical councils, local councils, and Fathers. The ecumenical councils cited are: Nicaea 1, Constantinople 1, Ephesos, Chalcedon, Constantinople 2, Constantinople 3/Penthekte, Nicaea 2, and “the First and Second Synod which is being called holy and ecumenical.” The local synods include: Carthage 1, Antioch 1, Ankyra, Neocaesarea, Antioch 2, Sardica, Laodicaea, Gangra, Carthage 2,

<sup>42</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.5.

<sup>43</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.5-6.

<sup>44</sup>Ephesians 2.20; 1 Peter 2.6.

<sup>45</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.6-26, 27-30; Blastares’ treatment of civil legislation actually follows the third part of his preface but for the sake of this examination and on account of its historical nature, it will be grouped with his coverage of ecclesiastical law.

<sup>46</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.6.

<sup>47</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.6.

<sup>48</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.5.

<sup>49</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.5-27.

and the Photian Synod of 879. The Fathers mentioned include: Dionysios of Alexandria, Peter of Alexandria, Athanasios the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Timothy of Alexandria, Theophilos of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadios of Constantinople, and Tarasios of Constantinople. There is also an excursus on anathema directly after his treatment of Gangra.<sup>50</sup>

The canonist derives material for his treatment of the ecumenical councils in the preface from a treatise attributed to the patriarch Photios, *Concerning the Eight Ecumenical Synods*.<sup>51</sup> This work is in fact an excerpt from Photios' letter (ca. 865) to Michael of Bulgaria (852-889).<sup>52</sup> Photios' observations on the councils are abridged. Blastares tends to summarize points concerning dogma or detailed descriptions of controversies.<sup>53</sup> Much of the material on local synods is drawn from the commentaries of Theodore Balsamon and John Zonaras.<sup>54</sup> Blastares relies heavily on the commentaries of both canonists throughout the *Synagma*.<sup>55</sup> V. Narbekov notes that while Blastares refers to Balsamon by name only six times, and Zonaras twice, the hieromonk

<sup>50</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.16-17; The order of Blastares' history is as follows: Holy Apostles, Carthage 1, Dionysios of Alexandria, Antioch 1, Peter of Alexandria, Ankyra, Neocaesarea, Nicaea (325), Antioch 2, Sardica, Laodicea, Athanasios the Great, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gangra, an excursus entitled "Concerning anathema," Constantinople 1 (381), Timothy of Alexandria, Theophilos of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Ephesos (431), Carthage 2, Chalcedon (451), Gennadios of Constantinople, Constantinople 2 (553), Constantinople 3 (681), Penthekte (691), Nicaea 2 (787), Tarasios of Constantinople, Protodeutera, and "the Synod concerning Photios."

<sup>51</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 1.375-88.

<sup>52</sup>B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1983-1985), 1 pp. 1-39.

<sup>53</sup>This is evident regarding Constantinople 1 where Blastares edits Photios' account in order to present only the main points concerning the pneumatological controversy and the disputes revolving around the presidency of the council.

<sup>54</sup>For example, his treatment of Carthage 2 strongly resembles the commentaries of Balsamon and Zonaras on the same subject, compare Rhalles and Potles, 6.20; and 3.286-87.

<sup>55</sup>The point is illustrated in general by Vasilii Narbekov, *Tolkovaniye Bal'samona na Nomokanon Fotiya* (Kazan, 1889) and in detail by S. Troianos, "Περὶ τὰς νομικὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ματθαίου Βλάσταρη," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 44 (1979-80) 205-329. Balsamon's commentary on the *Photian Nomokanon* was also used by Blastares as a major canonical source. This nomokanon was not solely the work of Photios but that of many redactors, one of the last being Theodore Bestes (ca. 1090); for additional information, see Beck, p. 146.

constantly quotes or paraphrases them either in his interpretations or summaries of ecclesiastical and civil legislation.<sup>56</sup> It is not clear from which source Blastares derives his treatment of the Fathers. However, his excursus on anathema has been taken partly from the introduction of Zonaras and Balsamon to the canons of Gangra.<sup>57</sup>

J. Herman and J. A. B. Mortreuil are mistaken in seeing similarities between Blastares' history of civil law and Michael Attaliates' introduction to his *Ποίημα Νομικόν*.<sup>58</sup> The only similarity between the two works is the fact that both follow the same chronological order in their historical accounts. The civil law utilized in the *Syntagma* is based on the original codes and the commentaries of Balsamon and Zonaras.

Although a historical analysis of Blastares' account is beyond the scope of this theological study, several points may be noted. In the first place, the dates of several synods are incorrect. The first ecumenical synod is dated 318 and the third, 421.<sup>59</sup> Constantinople 2 is given two dates, one incorrectly in 545 according to a mistake in reckoning the reign of Justinian I, and one correctly in 553.<sup>60</sup> Constantinople 3 is incorrectly reckoned in either 694 or 702, or even in 667 if one estimates by what the hieromonk says about Nicaea 2.<sup>61</sup> Finally, Protodeftera is dated 844.<sup>62</sup>

Secondly, certain phrases lead one to believe that the hieromonk has culled some of his historical notes from a preface to an unidentified canonical collection. These occur as follows:

- 1.) For Basil the Great: "The present *Syntagma* contains his three canonical letters to the Holy Amphilochios, Bishop of Iconium, which are divided into eighty-four canons. In addition

<sup>56</sup>Narbekov, pp. 283-84; Troianos, pp. 308-29; the point is proven in my recent doctoral thesis, *A Byzantine Theology of Marriage: The Syntagma kata stoicheion of Matthew Blastares*, Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1988.

<sup>57</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 3.96-100.

<sup>58</sup>J. Herman, p. 921; Mortreuil, 3, p. 459; Michael Attaliates, *Ποίημα Νομικόν*, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, eds. I. Zepos and P. Zepos, vol. 7: *Procheiron Auctum* (Athens, 1931; reprint ed. Darmstadt, 1962), pp. 411-17.

<sup>59</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.11, 19.

<sup>60</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.22.

<sup>61</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.22.

<sup>62</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.25.



to these, some other chapters concerning different subjects are also included.”<sup>63</sup>

2.) For Gregory of Nyssa: “In order that I shall as briefly as possible present every proof of this, the present collection includes his canonical epistle to Letoiros, Bishop of Melitene, with the other works.”<sup>64</sup>

3.) For the Second Ecumenical Synod: “Of these, the present *Syntagma* bears only seven canons that have been handed down.”<sup>65</sup>

These passages assume that the *Syntagma* is simply a collection of counciliar and patristic canons. This is not the case and these texts reveal Blastares’ plagiarism of an unidentified source.

Thirdly, in conformity with the Byzantine canonical tradition, Blastares regards the council in Trullo as part of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod.<sup>66</sup> In his description of Quinisext, an emphasis is placed on justifying its legitimacy. This chiefly revolves around Roman representation at the synod. Blastares claims that the Latins were fully represented despite their supposed claims to the contrary.<sup>67</sup> He also adds that the gathering was ecumenical because the holy Fathers that were present clearly recognized their own ecumenicity.<sup>68</sup>

Finally, the hieromonk acknowledges some degree of doubt concerning the status of Protodeftera since the pertinent section is entitled, “Concerning the First and Second Synod which is said to be holy and ecumenical.”<sup>69</sup>

A synopsis of what the history accomplishes in the second section occurs in the third part of the preface entitled, “A summary of the *Syntagma*: “This narrative of the history of the holy synods after the divine apostles, has been related. Know ye that these were the causes of the gatherings and which canons each synod handed

<sup>63</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.14.

<sup>64</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.14.

<sup>65</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.19.

<sup>66</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.23-24; see the commentaries of Zonaras and Balsamon on this point in Rhalles and Potles, 2.299-301.

<sup>67</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.24.

<sup>68</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.24.

<sup>69</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.25.

on, and which some of the divinely sweet men in turn composed personally.”<sup>70</sup> In general, Blastares appears to accomplish his purpose of giving a history of canon law according to chronological order. Although he neglects to note the imperial reigns for the later councils and for all the Fathers.

As noted above, Blastares presents a brief excursus concerning anathema. Its theme is the needlessness of excommunication.<sup>71</sup> The hieromonk claims to base himself on a homily of Saint John Chrysostomos entitled, *Concerning that one must not anathematize* (*Περί τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν*).<sup>72</sup> Blastares states that “the faithful man” should not pronounce an anathema, since the one who is being anathematized is not only separated from God but also assigned to Satan and thus made an “enemy of Christ.”<sup>73</sup> The hieromonk believes that the anathemas pronounced by Chalcedon and Gangra were “unproportionate” (*πέρα τοῦ μετρίου*) punishments.<sup>74</sup> In the third section, “A summary of the *Syntagma*,” Blastares continues his discussion of anathema by providing instances for which it is considered justified.<sup>75</sup> Excommunication is necessary in the case of the already putrified of the members” in order to avoid the contamination of a communion.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the mercy of God seeks out those that are lost, and “indeed also those that wonder (*τοὺς θαυμάσαντας*), who very lately (*πρόωρον*) held the works of demons in admiration.”<sup>77</sup> This may be a reference to the hesychast controversy. The term “*θαυμάσαντας*” could refer to the Palamites who claimed to see the uncreated light of Tabor. According to evidence presented in the letters of Gregory Akindynos and Joseph Kalothetos, Blastares may have been

<sup>70</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26.

<sup>71</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.16-17.

<sup>72</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.16; a homily attributed to Chrysostomos entitled, *Περί τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν ζῶντας ἢ τεθνηκότας*, is found in PG 48.945-52. However, the work is ascribed to Flavian I of Antioch (381-404), by Maurice Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Brepols-Turnhout, 1974), 2, p. 3430.

<sup>73</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.16-17; a similar point is made in the homily attributed to Chrysostomos, PG 48.948: “Therefore, what does the anathema that you say mean but let him be consigned to the devil, no longer have an opportunity for salvation, and become an enemy of Christ.”

<sup>74</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.16.

<sup>75</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26-27.

<sup>76</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.27.

<sup>77</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26-27.

an anti-Palamite up to 1345/46.<sup>78</sup> Although the *Syntagma* was written in 1335 shortly before the outbreak of the controversy, Akindynos' characterization of the hieromonk Matthew as an anti-hesychast when the "newfangled talk . . . was still indistinct" allows for the possibility that if his addressee was Blastares, "those that wonder" might be identified with those practicing hesychasm prior to the conflict between Barlaam and Palamas.<sup>79</sup> If this is true and the *Syntagma* was not re-edited due to Blastares' change of convictions, this remark may be the only surviving evidence of the hieromonk's opposition to hesychasm. However, the word "πρώην" can also be translated as "long ago."<sup>80</sup> Consequently, Blastares may mean either a recent or an old heresy. The term "θαυμάσαντας" could thus refer to the Paulicians or Bogomils, who were active in the Balkans as well as Asia Minor from the eighth century onwards. In fact, a chief of the Bogomils was burned at the stake in about 1110 at Constantinople, and measures were taken against them in Serbia during the late twelfth century and in Bulgaria during the thirteenth.<sup>81</sup> Consequently, the meaning of the text is

<sup>78</sup>Certain letters of Akindynos and Kalothetos make mention of a hieromonk Matthew residing in Thessalonika. In particular, correspondence of Akindynos dated 1345/46 and 1347/48 appears to imply that this hieromonk had lately defected and become a supporter of Palamas. A letter of Kalothetos dated 1346 has been interpreted as referring to Akindynos' missive and as complimenting Matthew's change of position. However, definitive evidence does not exist to link Blastares with the addressee of this correspondence. Editions of these letters may be found in: Angela Constantinides-Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington, D.C., 1983); R. J. Loenertz, "Acindyni Epistulae Selectae IX ex Codice Veneto Marciano 155," *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 27 (1957) 89-109; and D. G. Tsames, "Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Βίος ὁσίου Γρηγορίου," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονικῆς*, 19 (1974) 45-67. Arguments are presented for Blastares' identification with the addressee of Akindynos' 1345/46 letter and also with the Matthew mentioned in that of 1347/48, in Constantinides-Hero, 391, 437. She also states regarding the letter addressed to the hieromonk (Constantinides-Hero, 391): "As first suggested by Meyendorff (Introduction, 124 note 138; 137 note 47), Matthew is to be identified with the jurist Matthew Blastaris whose works include two anti-palamite treatises." J. Meyendorff supports the identification with Blastares, and holds that the hieromonk as well as the jurist Constantine Harmenopoulos opposed Palamas between 1341 and 1347. However, he ascribes two palamite treatises to Blastares, and does not mention any anti-hesychast works; see John Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris, 1959), p. 124, n. 124; pp. 137-38, n.47; pp. 404-11; and pp. 413-14.

<sup>79</sup>Constantinides-Hero, pp. 208-09.

<sup>80</sup>Liddell, Scott, Jones, McKenzie, p. 1543.

<sup>81</sup>For general information concerning medieval dualism, see Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1955).

unclear, although there are several interesting possibilities.

In the third and final section, "A summary of the *Syntagma*," Blastares contrasts civil and canon law.<sup>82</sup> He states that the aim of canon law precludes the use of corporal punishment as used in civil legislation.<sup>83</sup> Such things are "unworthy of the mercy of God."<sup>84</sup> Rather, the mercy of God requires that ecclesiastical law convert "the wandering," seek out "the lost," and strengthen "the feeble."<sup>85</sup> In short, canon law is understood as "a model of teaching," "spiritual medical treatment," and "the corresponding remedy" prepared "with the Holy Spirit" to deal with the disease of sin.<sup>86</sup> While civil legislation utilizes corporal punishment to curb violations and regulate society, ecclesiastical law makes use of spiritual means to achieve spiritual ends.

In summary, the preface of the *Syntagma* may be examined in three topical sections: the nature of canon law and its development; the history of ecclesiastical and civil law; and a final part, entitled "A Summary of the *Syntagma*," which includes an examination of Church-state relations.

Blastares treats the canons as an extension of the Divine Redemption. They are viewed as an incarnation of divine truth. The source of ecclesiastical law is considered divine but the canons are to express divine truth in relation to particular historical circumstances and conditions. Canon law is viewed as a Divine-human reality parallel to the two natures of the Savior. Within spiritual life, Blastares considers Church law to be a prescription for the diseases of the soul and a guide for the joining of the Church's members into one body or structure. The defeat of Satan is a major theme in Blastares' narrative concerning the development of canon law. This defeat is described as occurring through Christian martyrdom, the rulings of synods, and the writings of the Fathers.

The brief histories of Byzantine ecclesiastical and civil law are based on works by Saint Photios, Theodore Balsamon, and John Zonaras. These brief accounts reveal the legal sources utilized

<sup>82</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26-27; as noted above, Blastares' history of civil law follows his summary of the *Syntagma*. However, on account of its similarity of theme, this history has been grouped with his account of ecclesiastical law.

<sup>83</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26.

<sup>84</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26.

<sup>85</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.26.

<sup>86</sup>Rhalles and Potles, 6.27.

throughout the *Syntagma*. There also appears to be surviving evidence of the hieromonk's opposition to hesychasm. However, the text in question is unclear and can be interpreted in several possible ways.

Blastares considers his society to be a Christian commonwealth whose goal is the salvation of its members. Nevertheless, he clearly delineates the difference between civil and ecclesiastical law, especially concerning their respective means of enforcement.\*

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*An Introduction to Orthodox Spirituality.* By Rev. Dr. George C. Papademetriou. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Press, 1988. Pp. 24. \$1.50, paper.

*An Introduction to Orthodox Spirituality* is a very helpful book which is intended to help young and old to grow in their understanding of Orthodox spirituality. The author provides an introduction to Orthodox spirituality as well as an annotated bibliography on the same subject.

There are four sources of Orthodox spirituality. They are the holy Scriptures, the dogmatic definitions of the Ecumenical Councils, sacred tradition, and the spiritual teachings of the Greek Orthodox Fathers. It is interesting to compare this list with that found in *Orthodox Spirituality* by a Monk of the Eastern Church. There, holy Scripture, primitive Christianity, monasticism, reason, the intellectual use of one's mind, and the "technical-contemplative" element are mentioned along with the liturgical element. Orthodox spirituality shows up in prayer, daily Christian living, and worship. When one does these things in the right manner, they will find union with divine uncreated light.

The author makes an interesting distinction on page four about the difference between Orthodox spirituality and that of the sects. I assume by the "sects" he means the various Protestant groups. He writes, "The mystical union of Orthodox spirituality is not the 'devout life' that some sects claim but the communion of the person with God." As I observe the denomination of which I am a part, the Church of the Brethren, I note that there is truth in this statement. Brethren are well known for their good works. I was taught in seminary that the important thing was not one's beliefs, but rather one's action. In my personal experience, I have felt something missing from much of Protestantism, and it is the divine encounter that Dr. Papademetriou refers to.

The Greek Fathers saw three ways to progress in the spiritual life. There was the way of purification, the way of illumination, and the way of union. One makes progress on the spiritual way by individual effort and by the grace and the help of God. The term that is used for this combination of forces is "synergy." On page five, it is noted that Saint Seraphim of Sarov saw these three stages as being those that the Holy Spirit led all through.

As I evaluate this small book and its contents, I would have to rate it highly. Orthodoxy has much to offer, and many would benefit from its message. I only wish that I had the chance to hear of Orthodoxy some twenty years ago, for I am quite sure that if I had, I

would have chosen to be either an Orthodox priest or monk rather than a Protestant clergyman. However, I did not realize that the Orthodox Church even existed until only a few years ago, and I knew nothing of the beliefs and practices of the church until I started to study it a couple of years ago. Books such as *An Introduction to Orthodox Spirituality* deserve to be shared with those outside the Orthodox faith.

John D. Mummert  
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Euthimios Tsigaridas, *Latomou Monastery: The Church of Hosios David*. Translated by Deborah Whitehouse. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1988. Pp. 89. Frontispiece + 10 figures + 32 plates. Paperbound.

The Greek edition of this book was published in 1987. The book is one in a series of guides to Byzantine monuments in Thessalonike generously provided by the Institute for Balkan Studies. The author has studied history, archaeology, and theology at the University of Thessalonike and at the Sorbonne. He has a doctorate from Thessalonike and has worked in the Greek Archaeological Service since 1966 with a special scholarly interest in Byzantine and post Byzantine art. It is only appropriate that he should turn his attention to the Church of Blessed David, which was once the central church of Katholikon of the Monastery of Christ the Savior of the *Latomoi* (quarrymen) in Thessalonike's Upper Town, to the southwest of Vlatadon Monastery. For centuries a mosque under the name of Suluca, it was reconsecrated as the Christian Church of Hosios David in 1921. Academician A. Xynogopoulos conducted the first investigation of the Keramedim Mosque or Suluca and published historical and archaeological details which correctly identified the building. He was guided particularly by the description of the mosaic representation of the "Theandric image. . . of Christ" in the sanctuary apse by Ignatios, Abbot of Akapniou Monastery in his *Narrative*, which is the only source of the history of this monastery from its foundation to the ninth century. The foundation is attributed to Emperor Maximian's Christian daughter Theodora in the fifth century. Additional testimony is found in the *Life* of Saint Joseph the Hymnographer, who ca. 831 entered



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## Reviews

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*Authority and Passion.* By Demetrios Trakatellis. Translated from the Greek by George K. Duvall and Harry Vulopas. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1987. Pp. xii + 245.

The key to Bishop Trakatellis' book is its title, *Authority and Passion*. Throughout the Marcan story, Jesus' divine authority and his human passion stand in tension. In the parts of Mark where Jesus' authority dominates, there are always hints of the looming passion; yet throughout the passion story proper, manifestations of his authority never die out.

Like much modern research on the gospels, this book concerns itself with Mark as a theological work in its own right. It understands the gospel as a writing with its own message rather than as a mine for digging out historical facts about Jesus or pre-Markan sources. Trakatellis' book, however, goes beyond most Marcan research in at least one respect. It has created a bridge between the modern New Testament study and the divine-human Christ defined in the classical statements of the fourth and fifth century.

The book's five chapters divide naturally into two main sections. The first three are in effect a commentary on the gospel, which uses the authority-passion conflict as the key to its meaning. The last two chapters draw out systematically what the first three present exegetically. Chapter four deals with some basic theological concepts, such as demonology, nature, illness, sin, and religious and family institutions, all in terms of Christ's authority. The chapter also depicts various details of his passion and surveys the opposition to Jesus from various sources including the disciples. Chapter five treats the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God," both of which contain elements of authority and passion.

Although Trakatellis concentrates on the Christological message of the gospel, he has not ignored other important issues. These other appear most fully in the notes, which survey modern scholarly literature in various languages as well as valuable information culled from patristic interpretations. Unfortunately, these notes are awkward to use because they appear at the end of the book. They would have been far more useful as footnotes.

There are various points at which any reader will disagree with a book of this depth, and this reviewer is no exception. One point is the repeated reference to the Marcan crucifixion as a sacrifice (pp. 16, 19, 51, 53, 135f., 140, and 151). While Mark 10.45 (p. 141) may well allude to the Cross in sacrificial language, this one verse is hardly evidence that Mark saw Jesus' death primarily in sacrificial terms.

More significant is Trakatellis' interpretation of Jesus and the Jews in Mark. While it is certainly true that Mark is shifting the responsibility for the crucifixion from Romans to Jews (cf. pp. 38f.), the gospel still reflects differing Jewish attitudes about Jesus. According to pp. 79f., the Sadducees are one of the major Jewish religious factions, but what the book fails to say is that their popular support was limited. They represented the wealthy aristocracy and generally cooperated with Roman authorities. Their Pharisaic opponents, who enjoyed much wider support, seem to have had nothing to do with Jesus' death. Even though Mark regularly portrays the Pharisees as Jesus' main opponents in debate and even though Mark 3.6 maintains that they plotted to destroy him (pp. 19-21, 44, 119, 126, and 135f.), it needs to be pointed out that the Pharisees are strangely absent in Mark's passion narrative proper. With the passion Jesus' main opposition shifts from the Pharisees to priestly leaders, who were largely Sadducean. Whether by accident or design, the shift is maintained by Mark.

In summary, Bishop Trakatellis has succeeded in providing a very plausible key for understanding the second gospel. In doing so he provided a tool for the average reader to read it with greater understanding. In addition, the many detailed notes will fulfill the needs of the critical exegete.

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## Child Abuse — The Role of the Church

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JOHN CHRYSSAVGIS

IN ADDRESSING YOU THIS EVENING, I AM CALLED TO SHARE WITH you the knowledge of a theologian. Yet I stand before you primarily as a father. I have a son of my own, and it is through the eyes of my child Alexander that I wish to communicate my responsibility for the utmost care of every child, in every family, in every parish, in every nation. As an ordained clergyman, I am bound to view the world from within the Church with a difference: an added third dimension, that of heaven. And in the Church, the very word “child” is not defined by age, but by vulnerability. My son is young, and I must take care of him. You too must take care of him. We all bear the responsibility for his being and well-being. . . . Now another child approaches me, except that he is much older in age; yet, he also is weak and vulnerable. I, then, must take care of him. You must take care of him. You will be moved when I speak of the child, of the first child, my son. However, please bear with me and withhold your anger when I speak of the other child, the offender. He is God’s child.

“How can the Church help?” people ask. What is the responsibility of the Church? How does one handle the children? How does one relate to the parents? How is one to deal with the offender? In brief, what is the position of the Church in the “helping system?” The facts and consequences — the statistics and the sadistics — are frequently dealt with, but what has actually gone

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wrong in our way of life? What is, if you like, the “theology” — or lack of theology — behind child abuse? The social issue of child abuse has been variously and exceedingly analyzed in recent times. Yet unfortunately, there is very little by way of theological appraisal of pastoral care involved in cases of child abuse. One exception that I have come across is the marital and family therapist, Ms. Sybil Bohonos, in Edmonton, Canada.

### *Child Abuse and the Child*

When I hear, as I often do, of children abused, I immediately consider Alexander. The mere thought of Alexander ever being hurt mentally or physically gives me a feeling of discomfort and produces anger inside me. I do not know if I could ever bear such pain.

The “power game,” of which one often reads, is inspired and impressed upon children from a very early age. It is nothing peculiar to see media, school, and parents encouraging self-confidence in children to the point of their being assertive. We are, in fact, born into a world where it is inevitable for one to struggle in order to survive, to be cruel in order to be comfortable. After all, child abuse is not only sexual. There are numerous forms of abuse which we often ignore and which we at times adopt: humiliation through sarcasm, verbal abuse, maltreatment, neglect, and even emotional abuse. Or consider the children in labor and prostitution in third-world countries while we have . . . “breakfast at McDonalds.”

The ultimate sin in our complacency is our understanding of ownership, possession, and power. Yet sin for the Church is precisely the abuse of freedom, both ours and that of others; it is the lack of respect for the freedom of each person. We tend to treat people as objects, not as persons. Child abuse, in this respect, is but the extreme example of such behavior. Society has unfortunately accepted this way of life. Children simply cannot defend themselves or survive in this game.

Take, for instance, the family unit. It is taken for granted — more so perhaps in some cultural circumstances than in others — that parents *own* their children: “This is my child, and I do as I please in his upbringing” — always for the good of the child, of course. Yet there is here, for me, the most infected form of abuse. Parents must learn to treat their children as fully human persons, and no less than that. One should never and in no way take ad-

vantage of the age or vulnerability of a child. This may sound radical, but for the Church the parent-child relationship is a reflection of the relationship between God and man. God never imposes even if at all times present; he does not enforce any code of behavior, even when man rejects or deceives him; he is not authoritarian, although he is the author of all creation. Children, like us adults, are images of the living God and invaluable in his sight. "Theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 19.14; Mk 10.14); they are not possessions of their parents, but themselves possessors of heaven.

The clergyman finds himself in the same predicament: it is so easy to utilize the power of the Church when relating to a weak and hurt victim. Yet this will only bring about further and deeper wounds. We must constantly pose the uncomfortable question about the use and abuse of power. Thus, what in contemporary society is perhaps regarded as normative or acceptable should also be questioned if we are ever to change our attitudes and heal child abuse at its source. What, by way of example, can one say of the widely held belief concerning the absolute privacy or autonomy of the family? On the other end of the scale, there is no reason why government alone should have provision of services. In such a crucial issue, there can be no place for political, religious, or other ideologies.

In the final analysis, whether parent or clergyman, it is important to listen; and not only to listen, but to believe and to convey an atmosphere of trust. For many, denial, suppression, and repression, are the only defenses available when one is faced with the intense emotional pain of child abuse. The sense of guilt — often placed upon them by others — is another issue that riddles them. This is where the priest must convince them that the responsibility is not only theirs, but is shared by all. The word for confession in Greek (ἔξ-ομο-λόγησις) not only denotes an opening up to another person, which is the first step in the healing process, but also an identifying with the sinner on the part of the priest, who during the sacrament represents the whole world. It is this solidarity and trust that in the end heals.

Abuse of power in the world produces lack of trust. Our trust is violated from a young age, and so the regaining of this ground must be the first aim of the priest. There is no reason or result in preaching a sermon when the person preaching is not trusted. Being honest with both offender and victim is what is crucial. This

proves to them that they are not worthless and unloved. This is the tangible realization of communication, beyond mere concern or compassion. Then the abused and the abuser are more able to discover and to face the pain of their past. This past can never be changed, but God's love will begin to heal once one has accepted one's weakness. Saint Paul wrote years ago: "my strength is perfected in weakness" (2 Cor 12.9). Cathy-Ann Matthew today shares her story in a different way:

Please do not tell me it's all in the past, as some have told me. Please don't tell me it can't hurt me now. It is still hurting me! Some 'helpers' listen, think they understand how I feel, then put me straight, give me a sermon, tell me to have more faith and try harder, or even, thoughtlessly, ask me if I am really a Christian! They apply their solution, but I am left reeling under another blow (*Southern Cross*, Nov. 1986, p. 13).

Sometimes I wonder whether those involved in "helping," "fixing," and "counseling" are not in fact responding to their own needs! Sometimes I truly wonder who it is that requires healing!

If we are to love people, then we must first believe them and not stop what they are experiencing, no matter how painful or traumatic. Pain too is a most essential way of maturing. The role of the Church is not to produce people who do good and hate evil — Nietzsche liked to ridicule Christians as the "yes-men" of God — but to create mature people who are able to relate responsibly to one another, and consequently to God.

This is the full significance of love as revealed by Christ. Love is not simply emotional, but direct and responsible. Love may mean *not* "turning the other cheek" or even refusing to show affection. It is wrong to teach children only the *one* side of love — the sweet love of the "baby Jesus" in the cradle that is overemphasized every Christmas. The child must learn that saying "no" on occasion may be the real way of love. This is certainly a duty of the Church — whether represented by the clergy, the Sunday School teacher, or the parent.

We have been created by God and commanded to care for each other and for the world (Gen 1.28). At all times, however, one has a choice to make — that of obeying God and loving the world, or else of turning away from God. Consider another image: the wine



which is often a great means of disinhibition for the abuser may be seen also as the wine which, when shared with others, becomes a source of communion with God and man. It is, therefore, up to us. Each person has a choice (1 Jn 4.7-21).

The victim of abuse has the choice of coping with the same survival methods that caused the suffering, or else of transforming the pain into energy, of releasing and cleansing himself in order to be free. The priest too has the choice of accepting the victim as a person loved by God just as he is, or else of regarding himself as being in a position of superiority from which he may compassionately help. I think the role of the pastor is simply to walk beside the victim, to accompany him in his every move and at his own pace. This is a unique time in the life of the victim, and God is present in a very unique way. Priest *and* victim must be aware of this. What the victim usually needs is constant affirmation which, in an age of negation, we are all too often unwilling to offer. Furthermore, it is important to underline that there is time: God is usually waiting at all times; it is we who are in a rush and who fail to take the time needed from our busy daily schedule. Going out of our way, of course, does not mean that there is always a need to *do* things in order to help the victim: a mother actually does very little for the child during pregnancy, and yet she is setting the foundations for his life.

We must also remember that the victim will often feel estranged from God: God may not be near in a spiritual sense, but he is there in a physical way in other persons. The way, then, that people react is so crucial to the victim. An insignificant improvement or step in the life of the victim must never be underestimated but always recognized as a spark of life, in the same way Jesus turned to the hemorrhaging woman who had simply touched him (cf. Mk 5.27-30).

### *The Parent*

Salvation is always our purpose, not isolation; communion, not accusation. The bread that the Church breaks each Sunday for communion and salvation, "for the life of the world," essentially symbolizes the fragmentation of human nature that must responsibly be overcome, healed, and united.

This same understanding and sensitivity must be applied to the parent. The area of communication is so significant when deal-

ing with parents. We are often untrained in the clinical approach — and this certainly holds true of clergy — and yet we are left to mend souls. We console, we respond to questions, we absolutely love to involve God somehow — by quoting Scripture or anything that sounds like Scripture — but we neglect, indeed avoid, to mend the parents' relationship with the child or with the offender. Ultimately, in the case also of the parent, we are again very frequently guilty of isolation, of "band-aid" healing that effects no real change in behavior. Whether the offender be a stranger, the spouse, or a close relative, we often leave the wound unhealed, even untouched. That still remains in our minds as the very own problem of the person involved. Thus we not only fail to be sensitive to the rupture in relationships, but we create a further vacuum, yet another empty space in the Church: namely, between ourselves and those directly concerned.

A necessary measure taken to solve a given case of child abuse is often separation: both victim and offender must not set eyes on each other. This may invariably be a *solution*, but we are still miles away from *salvation*. And we must realize that the fruits of this solution on the Church, in the relationships ultimately of people, will, inasmuch as it is an unrecognized problem, carry on for generations.

### *The Offender*

Perhaps it would have been more appropriate to consider the offender before the victim, not simply for logical reasons — because the offender is the cause and the victim the result — but for more personal reasons. It is, I believe, pretentious to isolate the offender and to punish him, thinking that herein lies a possible solution to the problem at hand. I spoke of *personal* reasons precisely because I wish to bring the case of the offender much "closer to home" — it is, at any rate, the immediate family that is to blame in so many cases. So the offender may be in your home; indeed, to speak still more personally, it may be you, it may be I.

The Church can never isolate: one never sins alone in the Church, but there is a oneness in all of human nature. This means that the existence of but one offender, anywhere in the world, at any point in time, is the very failure of humanity, of myself. Let, therefore, him who has no sin cast the first stone (cf. Jn 8.7). It is I that must be blamed, and it is I first that must be cleansed.

This in no way absolves the offender: he ought to be punished. However, we should not feel any sense of complacency or self-virtue in presuming that the responsibility is totally his, in considering ourselves relieved of all burden. Our purpose is not primarily to punish as to kneel beside the offender in all humility — or, if you do not like such theological jargon as humility, to stand beside him in all reality — knowing that “in the house of our Father in heaven there are many mansions” (cf. Jn 14.2), and *all* of them are made of glass. We are all potential abusers. We like to think that the offender is unlike us, and we stigmatize him for life. And yet he is much like us, so very much one of us. The line is indeed very fine between accepted “use” and rejected abuse, and still finer between abuser and victim.

The Church exists not simply to heal but to save, and we know that Christ’s will is “that the whole world be saved” (Jn 3.17), especially those who are lost (Mt 18.11, Lk 19.10), unwanted, exiled, ostracized, unloved. That surely includes victim *and* offender. For if we separate the offender from the Church, we cut him off from his sources of oxygen — which is God and love through his fellow human beings. Then we are surely committing the same crime as that of which he is accused, namely abuse — abuse of responsibility, abuse of freedom, abuse of the power game in life.

The pain of the Church is the *same* for all her children. Ultimately, all are “wounded,” all are in need of healing. The Church as a whole mourns and cares for the whole of fallen humanity. For we have not merely fallen — or failed — in the eyes of God, but we have ourselves cut off the umbilical cord of our communion with God by destroying our communication with man. It is the firm conviction of the Church’s saints that we are saved in and through one another, and never above or without each other. It is in the eyes of a human person that one beholds the fullness of the glory of God. That is why we believe and state that God became man. From that moment in history, finding God became as easy as picking up something that one dropped, as simple as turning to another human person — what the Scriptures refer to as “one’s neighbor” — and loving that person “with all one’s might, and with all one’s soul, and with all one’s heart, and with all one’s life” (Mk 12.30, Lk 10.27). The Scriptures also command: “Love your neighbor as yourself” (Mk 12.31) which by no means implies any self-love or egoism, but that one’s neighbor *is* one’s

very self. One's neighbor, then, is the genuine reflection of one's self and the authentic revelation also of God (cf. Jn 15.9,12). We cannot do without each other. In fact, in a very daring passage in his book, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, Saint John of the Ladder, a seventh century hermit who lived for over forty years in the desert of Mt. Sinai and who therefore could perhaps justifiably be accused of being unable to even imagine what love is, writes: "When we anger God, [a human being] can reconcile us; but when we anger a human being, we no longer have anyone to defend us" (*Step* 4, 126).

### *Conclusion*

In abuse, the innermost part of the victim, his dignity, has been invaded. In the case of sexual abuse, the most intimate part of the person, the body, has been violated. It is the divine mystery of the human person that I have attempted to draw to your attention in my paper. One should, however, at this point recall the old saying: "When all is said and done, there is much more said than done." Are we prepared, then, to be aware of the extent of child abuse and of its proximity to us? Are we prepared to be more flexible in our understanding of the offender, more silent and prayerful in our relationship with the victim? Are we prepared as clergymen to recognize the problem within our own Church, indeed in our own parishes and in the homes of those whom we like to consider "good Christians?" Are we prepared to question and deal with all forms of violence and abuse at all levels in our society? Are you and I prepared to do more about the information conveyed this evening, within our own families, among our own friends?

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Commencement Address  
Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School  
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JOHANNES CARDINAL WILLEBRANDS

THIS KIND INVITATION FROM AN INSTITUTE OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGY suggests to me that I might reflect with you on an aspect of ecclesiology which our two Churches have in common. I would like to talk about the essential link which the Christian tradition has always maintained between the mystery of the triune God and that of the Church which is one yet diverse. Without going into the canonical aspects of the relation between the "one and the many," I would like to point to its dogmatic roots.

You will not mind if I begin by quoting not an oriental Father but Saint Augustine, for it seems to me that it is he who has most profoundly expressed western thought on this fundamental question. In a passage too often overlooked, of his *Enarrationes* on the Psalms, he writes:

"The Church is gathered from the four winds. How is it gathered? It is in the Trinity that it is gathered from everywhere. It is gathered only through baptism in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." (*Enarr. in Ps 86*)

A.

When our two Churches firmly maintain that there is no true baptism except in the name of the Trinity, they are saying that

\*Given on May 20, 1989.

there is no entering into the mystery of unity which is the Church except by being taken into the heart of this divine life which is the Trinity. And if we say that the Church is fundamentally a *koinōnía*, it is because the unity of God is that of a *koinōnía* of persons which embraces us through grace.

In the West, especially in the theological synthesis worked out by Thomas Aquinas, which has gradually gained acceptance as the most conformable to our doctrinal tradition, this question of the unity (of essence) and plurality (of persons) in God has been deeply examined. I propose to begin by recalling its central insight because this has strong repercussions on our view of the connection between communion in God and ecclesial communion.

The theology of Thomas Aquinas on this point is a deepening and a systematization of the insight of Gregory of Nazianzus. He was the first to use the notion of relation in thinking about the divine persons. In the very closely reasoned argumentation of Chapter 16 of his Third Theological Oration (*Oration 29*), he avoids the dilemma of Eunomios by rejecting both hypotheses and proposing a third one: that the name of the Father and the name of the Son are names of relation:

‘Father, they say, is a name either of an essence or of an action,’ thinking to bind us down on both sides. If we say that it is a name of an essence, they will say that we agree with them that the Son is of another essence, since there is but one essence of God, and this, according to them, is preoccupied by the Father. On the other hand, if we say that it is the name of an action, we shall be supposed to acknowledge plainly that the Son is created and not begotten. For where there is an agent there must also be an effect. And they will say they wonder how that which is made can be identical with that which made it. I should myself have been frightened with your distinction, if it had been necessary to accept one or other of the alternatives, and not rather put both aside, and state a third and truer one, namely, that Father is not a name either of an essence or of an action. But it is the name of the relation in which the Father stands to the Son, and the Son to the Father.<sup>1</sup>

On the subject of the Holy Spirit, Gregory writes in Chapter

<sup>1</sup> *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Trans. Schaff and Wace (Grand Rapids, 1893; Reprint 1978), vol. 7, pp. 306-07.

9 of the Fifth Theological Oration (*Oration 31*):

What then, say they, is there lacking to the Spirit which prevents his being a Son, for if there were not something lacking he would be a Son? We assert that there is nothing lacking — for God has no deficiency. But the difference of manifestation, if I may so express myself, or rather of their mutual relations one to another, has caused the difference of their names. For indeed, it is not some deficiency in the Son which prevents his being Father (for Sonship is not a deficiency), and yet he is not Father. According to this line of argument there must be some deficiency in the Father, in respect of his not being Son. For the Father is not Son, and yet this is not due to either deficiency or subjection of essence; but the very fact of being unbegotten, or proceeding has given the name of Father to the first, of the Son to the second, and to the third, him of whom we are speaking, of the Holy Ghost that the distinction of the three persons may be preserved in the one nature and dignity of the Godhead.’’<sup>2</sup>

Here Gregory has made decisive theological progress, and shows that he has earned the title of “Theologian.” All Western trinitarian theology will rest on this insight. In fact, the conciliar formula, *in Deo omnia sunt unum ubi non obviat relationis oppositio*<sup>3</sup> is a faithful reflection of the Fifth Theological Oration I have just cited. Many other passages could be quoted where Gregory affirms that the three persons each have a property of relation, and that these properties are relations of origin.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, Western theology says that the divine persons, because they are “Father, Son and Spirit,” are three living entities, distinguished by their relations of origin yet belonging to the same indivisible divine essence. They are *relationes subsistentes*. They are *relationes* because their entire being lies in being turned or directed towards each other — the Father towards the Son and the Spirit, the Son towards the Father. It is this radical orientation of one to the other which gives the Father (source, principle, αἰτία) the Son, and the Spirit their proper character distinguishing

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Council of Florence, DS 1330; see also the 11th Council of Toledo in 675, DS 528, and the 16th in 693, DS 5750, 573.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for example, *Oration 34*, 16, and 20, 7.



them from each other. They are *subsistentes* because all three have the same, unique, divine essence, wholly and indivisibly present in each. The mystery of the living God is then that of the "communion" of three persons really distinct from each other in the unbreakable unity of the divine nature. In this "communion," diversity is just as essential as the unbreakable community of nature. The community of nature is just as essential as the irreducible diversity of the persons.

This divine reality is the source and model of the Church in its ultimate depth. Thus, broadening without distorting Augustine's view, we can say that, according to the *οἰκονομία* manifested in the order of creation, where man is created in "the image and likeness of God" in the "communion" of man and woman (Gen 1.27), "so God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them"), the recapitulation (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσις*) in Christ also comes about in the image of the Trinity of the one God.

### B.

We have therefore no simple theological hypothesis, without foundation in Scripture. It is based on two great revealed texts which have served as the basis for the Christian vision of the "unity which God wills."

The best known of these texts is chapter 17 of Saint John's Gospel. The prayer which the author puts into the mouth of Jesus on the eve of the paschal mystery does not merely say that his disciples should be "one" (Jn 17.21-23). It also asks the Father: "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may also be one in us . . . that they may be one even as we are one, I in them and thou in me."

In these verses two points especially should be brought out. On the one hand, the disciples should "be one" *like* the Father and Jesus (*καθώς*). On the other hand, they should "be one" *in* the Father and Jesus (*καθώς*). It is no accident that, to express the likeness between the union of the disciples and that of the Father and Jesus, the author uses *καθώς* and not *ὡς*. In fact, *καθώς* normally signifies a likeness which comes from a relation of causality, of origin between the two realities in question. The unity of the disciples then is modelled on that which unites Jesus to the Father quite simply because it springs from it, the one is the *epiphaneia*,

the manifestation of the other. The western tradition says that it is a *sacramentum*, that is, a sign bearing the grace which "God reserves to his children."

This grace is precisely that of introducing them into his own intimate being. They are *in* the bond which unites the Father and Jesus, ἐν ἡμῖν says the Johannine Jesus. The unity of the disciples is thus found enclosed in that of the Father and Jesus.

To be sure, we are concerned here with what Jesus thought of as the Son of the Father *in his sending*, hence with οἰκονομία and not with θεολογία. The "communion" of the disciples to the Father is accomplished in Christ Jesus and "passes through" his communion to our humanity. Nonetheless — and this is what the Johannine Gospel fully brings out — Jesus is the very one who, as the prologue says, is "in the bosom of the Father" (1.18). Chapter 17 itself recalls that Jesus is glorified by the Father before the creation of the world (17.5, 24) and it is this glory that is manifested in the acts of his human existence.

What can we deduce for the Church from this? First this, which is of capital importance: its unity (let us say it's *koinônía*, even though the term is not used in the Johannine Gospel, while it is in the first epistle) comes to it from "on high." But it "descends" from the intimate being of God — from God in his trinitarian *koinônía*. That is why it is radically inseparable from God's communication of his love, his truth, his glory.

Love, truth and glory are precisely the three words which, with Jesus' insistence on the unity of his disciples, are like a symphony in the great hymn to the profundity of the divine design which is chapter 17 of the Johannine Gospel. Unity is not a separate value, an appendix to the great stream of salvation which comes from the Father. It belongs to that stream. Moreover, when Christ connects the unity of the disciples with the world being able to know that the Father has sent him, and has "loved" them all as he loves Christ ("from the foundation of the world") he brings together, under one aspect, unity, love, truth and glory. But he shows at the same time that these things are not only a gift of God but also an association of the community of disciples with the communion of the Father and the Son in their eternal life of love, truth and glory.

Thus the unity of the Church has both its source and its heart in the uncreated *koinônía* of the divine Trinity. It is taken up into

the ineffable unity which in God unfolds itself in divine love, divine knowledge (truth), and divine glory. Hence it is not enough to say that by faith and charity Christians mysteriously share in the mutual love and mutual knowledge which make up the life of God. We must also add that they equally share the unbreakable unity on which that knowledge and love flourish. This is why, when the unity of the Church is threatened, the "communion" in truth, love and in glory of the living God and hence the very depth of ecclesial life is attacked. To say, with the Johannine Gospel, that it is in the person of Jesus, enclosed within the life of the Trinity, that ecclesial *koinōnía* is held together, is to affirm the nature of the Church as "humanity" recreated "in the image and likeness" of the living God.

But to speak of Trinity (for God) and "communion" (for Church) is to speak of diversity, number, plurality. In God, there are three persons. Each has a personality so clear, strongly marked, and distinct that it is not absorbed in the infinity of the common nature nor consumed by the great fire of love, of truth, of glory which is their eternal divine life. The Fathers of East and West never ceased to insist that nothing of what constituted the paternity of the Father is communicated to the Son or the Spirit, and nothing that constitutes the sonship of the Son is communicated to the Father. The depth of the trinitarian *koinōnía* is measured by the difference, radically indestructible or impossible to level out, by which the Father is not the Son and the Spirit is not the Father. The divine *koinōnía*, its unity, is that of three persons who are one without being fused with each other. This is why the Johannine gospel puts into the mouth of Jesus, at the most solemn moments, words which emphasize his distinction from the Father. To blot out the distinction of the persons would be to make the Johannine Jesus unintelligible.

The Church is the image of the Trinity in that in her too the most profound unity (that unity which comes from each one of her faithful being a member of the one and indivisible body of Christ) respects human diversity. It is in this that she is Catholic. Her catholicity is, as it were, the *epiphaneia* of the divine triad in the complexity of humanity. We find here the idea, Pauline in inspiration, of ἀνακεφαλαίωσις so well expounded by Saint Irenaios. God, in the work of salvation, brings into his own "communion" all creation with its inborn diversity, which he respects — which he

saves.

Salvation consists in this, that its multitude becomes, through the Spirit of Christ, transfigured by the love, the truth and the glory that are in God. The effect of this piercing of natural realities by the supernatural was the subject of many homilies by the Fathers. Instead of walls of division creating hatred, war and death by closing in persons and groups on themselves, it produces shared riches and values which complement each other. Here again there is reflected the dynamism within the Trinity, that dynamism which draws the divine Persons to each other, in total otherness but also in the most absolute mutual self-giving.

Speaking of walls of division brings us to the second of the great New Testament texts I have alluded to, the Epistle to the Ephesians. In incisive passages it places at the heart of salvation the destruction, on the Cross, of the walls of hatred separating the Jews from other people. In reaffirming Church unity, which it presents as the realization par excellence of God's design, the epistle comes to a statement of capital importance:

There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" (Eph 4.4-6).

It is highly significant that this text, which all specialists see as having had influence at Nicea,<sup>5</sup> links the confession of one God (with reference to Spirit, Lord and Father) with confession of the Church, one in its diversity. The context is explicitly one of unity, and not directly of unicity. One of the best specialists, referring to the probable liturgical origin of these verses, can write:

In their confession of the one God, the saints, assembled (in many places or many occasions) for one worship and engaged in one mission, distinguish between the Spirit, the Lord (Jesus Christ), and the Father. It is not the magnificence and the mystery of the number 'One' which determines the confession of God. Rather the astonishing manifestation of God the Spirit, Son and Father, makes them cry out: One! Unique! United! Unifying! Faithful!

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the note to 1a TOB, Markus Barth, "Ephesians 4-6," *The Anchor Bible* (New York, 1974), p. 463.

While the saints confess God's uniqueness, faithfulness, omnipotence, etc. they acknowledge variety and multiformity in God himself. He is the living God, not a dead number. God's oneness is the communion of Father, Son and Spirit; it is the unity of these three: the mystery of the Trinity.

The statements regarding God's oneness are made in a tone of admonition, supplication, worship. They reflect not the attitude of onlookers but the rapture of enthusiasts. Those uttering the confession are bound by its implications. They speak as the 'body' animated by the 'Spirit' and appointed to march on the way of 'hope.' 'Faith' and 'baptism' tie them to the 'Lord.' 'In all things' and persons they are willing to recognize the dominion, presence, and operation of 'God the Father.'<sup>6</sup>

Ephesians reads the mystery of the Church, a bonding of Jews and Gentiles, which respects their differences, in the light of the mystery of God, the *oikonômia* of which manifests inseparably the unity and the "difference" between the three who are Father, Son and Spirit.

It is because the living God is one yet in the diversity of the Father, Son and Spirit, that God's Church is itself one in diversity. It is precisely the work of the Spirit to preserve unity in diversity. We would say today that it is to make unity actual in catholicity. Now, this diversity is very wide. For the author of the epistle it shows itself everywhere: diversity of Jews and Gentiles, diversity of ministries. The Church is in the strictest sense a unity in diversity brought about by God. And just as in God absolute uniformity would do away with the persons (and we should return to the Jewish vision of the living God), absolute uniformity in the Church would be a negation of the work of salvation. This consists in the fact that *difference* nourishes "communion" without being turned into *division*.<sup>7</sup> The Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 12.1-31) shows that this view has deep roots in the Pauline conception of the Church: "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body, Jews or Greek, slaves or free — and all were made to drink of one

<sup>6</sup> "Ephesians 4-6," p. 466.

<sup>7</sup> See J. M. R. Tillard, "L'Universel et le local," *Irenikon* (1988) 483-94; (1981) 28-40.

Spirit. . . . If the whole body were an eye, where would the hearing be?" Now it is important to emphasize (it is often forgotten) that this long development follows immediately on Paul's great passage on the Eucharist, which must be celebrated in unity (1 Cor 11.17-22). In short:

To sum up, unless God were three in one, no great feat would be accomplished by calling him 'One.' It might be questioned how and why an absolute unqualified oneness could ever have a claim upon creatures who are many and manifold. Creation by the one God might by definition mean separation from him. A multiplicity of persons could never truly share in God's oneness, be committed by it, confess it — if God had not proven to be the One even in his plurality, the unity that permits diversity, the power that holds together, brings together, and guarantees community. Without being bound by the Father, Son and Spirit, the Church could never proclaim that God's own unity is the basis, the source, the energy, and the criterion of her own unity and that of her many members and ministries.<sup>8</sup>

The Church, in the "communion" which gathers its multitude into unity, is the ikon of the Trinity of the living God. This gives to division a character that can be called "heretical" — a practical heresy since it contradicts an essential aspect of the bond between *θεολογία* and *οἰκονομία*. Conversely it gives to every effort for unity an almost sacred character. Unity is so essential — though linked with a diversity which the Spirit joins in *koinônía* — that for the sake of it we should give up imposing what is not necessary. Such is the lesson to be learned from the decision of the apostolic Church about "those of the Gentiles who turn to God" (Acts 15.19); "to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things" (Acts 15.28).

### C.

If we go back now to the quotation from Saint Augustine with which I began this talk, I think we shall better grasp the full force of it. The Church is gathered from the four corners of the earth, and unfolds through the centuries "jam ab Abel justo." She is what she is in the glorified Christ. But this Christ in glory is entirely the Christ who sits enthroned in the centre of the tympanum

<sup>8</sup> "Ephesians 4-6," p. 467.

of the Romanesque basilicas like, for instance, Vezelay, and the Christ which oriental iconography represents so well: a Christ enshrined in the glory, love and truth of the Trinity. This is why, as Augustine so deeply perceives, no one is gathered into Christ (as his living member) except by being immersed through baptism in the mystery of the Trinity. No one becomes a member of the Church of God without being "associated" with the reality of God. No one enters ecclesial *koinônia* except by letting himself be seized by the *koinônia* of the Trinity.

My dear brothers and sisters,

I have meditated often on the Church and on the mystery of its unity. Its unity is made in the image of the unity of God, but not only in its image, for the Church truly is one in God: ἕνα καὶ αὐτοὶ (ἐν) ἐν ἡμῖν ὧσιν and again ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς. The sin of division wounds the mystery of God in us. Movement towards full unity is nothing less than a sacred duty. The search for unity is above all a prayer, a conversion of heart, a dialogue of love. Enlightened by the Spirit, we will reach the point of seeing how far diversity is compatible with unity, how it confirms and enriches unity. Let us not quench the Spirit (1 Thes 5.19). The Pauline epistles are filled with exhortations to be united in diversity: "Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are varieties of service, but the same Lord; and there are varieties of working, but it is the same God who inspires them all in every one" (1 Cor 12.4-6). May this biblical passage taken from the Apostle be accomplished in all of us in all its fullness. "May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all" (2 Cor 13.14).

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## Contrasting Theological Outlooks on Ancient Kodiak Culture

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S.A. MOUSALIMAS

IN THE COURSE OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT outlooks regarding non-Christian cultures. These outlooks derive from two broad currents of thought which correspond largely to the two tendencies in religion described by the American pragmatist philosopher, William James. On the one hand, there is a positive, or optimistic view, a healthy-mindedness as James terms it. On the other hand, there is a negative, pessimistic view, a morbid-mindedness. He contrasts the two as follows:

If then we give the name healthy-mindedness to the tendency which looks on all things and sees that they are good, we find that we must distinguish between a more involuntary and a more voluntary or systematic way of being healthy-minded. In its involuntary variety, healthy-mindedness is a way of feeling happy about things immediately. In its systematic variety, it is an abstract way of conceiving things as good.<sup>1</sup>

Now, in contrast with such healthy-minded views as these, if we treat them as a way of deliberately minimizing evil, stands a radically opposite view, a way of maximizing evil, if you please so to call it, based

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<sup>1</sup> William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1936), pp. 87-88.

on the persuasion that the evil aspects of our life are of its very essence, and that the world's meaning most comes home to us when we lay them most to heart.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Positive Outlook on Ancient Kodiak Culture*

We find the healthy-minded view of ancient Kodiak culture in a commentary written at the Valaam Monastery in Russo-Finnish territory.<sup>3</sup> This commentary was published in 1894 for the centennial anniversary of the first mission to Alaska. This mission had been based at Kodiak, and most of its members had been monastics at Valaam. The commentary's author remained anonymous, as he spoke not for himself but for his monastery. He drew his information about the Kodiak people from an ethnography compiled between 1804 and 1807 by Hieromonk Gideon, who had been sent to the island by the Metropolitan of Moscow to boost the mission and to investigate the disreputable activities of the Russian-American Company. The commentary's author drew information also from ethnographies of the Aleut and the Tlingit compiled between 1824 and 1838 by Fr. Ivan Veniaminov, who is well known in Alaskan history.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 130-31.

<sup>3</sup> Valaam Monastery, *The Russian Orthodox Religious Mission in America, 1794-1837*, trans. Colin Bearne, ed. Richard Pierce (Kingston, Ontario, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Lydia T. Black, trans. and ed., "The Konyag (the Inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak) by Iosaph Bolotov (1794-1799) and by Gideon (1804-1807)," *Arctic Anthropology* 14.2 (1977) 79-108.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan [Innokentii] Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, trans. Lydia Black and R. H. Geoghegan, ed. Richard A. Pierce (Kingston, Ontario, 1984).

Ivan Veniaminov served as the first priest for the Unalaska District (1824-1834) which included the eastern Aleutian Islands and the Shumagin Islands as well as the Pribylov Islands in the Bering Sea. He was then transferred to Sitka (1834-1839). Journeying to Russia and elevated to the episcopacy (1840), he returned to Sitka as Bishop Innokentii of Kamchatka, the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, and he served as the first bishop in Alaska from 1841 to 1850. Subsequently (1850) he became archbishop of an immense diocese stretching from Sitka into Siberia, eventually as far as Yakutia. As priest, bishop, and archbishop, he traveled by ship, kayak, horseback and dogsled, opening churches, seminaries, and monasteries, and promoting translations into the Alaskan and Siberian peoples' languages. He himself learned at least three of these languages: Aleut, Tlingit, and Yakut. Soon after Imperial Russia's transfer of sovereignty over Alaska to the United States (1867), he became Metropolitan of Moscow (1868) and remained so until his repose (1879). Canonized a saint (1974), he is honored today by churches in America as St. Innocent of Alaska and by churches in Russia as St. Innocent of Moscow.

Describing many of the ancient Kodiak moral traits — including patience, loyalty, hospitality, cleanliness, truthfulness, charity, humility, sensitivity toward others, respect for parents, and care for children<sup>6</sup> — the commentary observed that the Kodiak people exhibited “more good features and traits than bad.”<sup>7</sup> It found their charity especially impressive, “their complete readiness to share their last crust with anyone in need,”<sup>8</sup> and it saw that the hand of God had touched their heart. “To us, at least, this seems the appearance of an inner moral law, inscribed in the hearts of men by the Creator of the universe”: the “spark of God’s truth” was “visible.”<sup>9</sup>

Considering the ancient Kodiak “religious concepts,” Valaam arrived at the conclusion that “in general the pure and elevated moral ideas of the Aleuts and Kodiaks and their religious views” were “in essence similar to the Bible stories.”<sup>10</sup> “In accordance with God’s Holy Revelations,” the Kodiak and Aleut people were “not completely bereft of God’s Grace.”<sup>11</sup>

From this perspective, virtue and truth existed among the ancient Kodiak people. Divine presence was evident. The spark of God’s truth was visible. Valaam referred this perspective to one of the earliest Christian theologians, Saint Justin the Martyr, whom the commentary quoted and cited:<sup>12</sup>

“God is not a name, but an idea, deep-seeded in the nature of man, about something which cannot be explained,” said the holy martyr Justin, the philosopher (*Apologia* 2, chapter 6).

The phrase “God is not a name” meant that the divine was not only a concept to be spoken or taught by one group and heard and learned by another. Rather, the divine was deeply seeded in the very nature of human beings. Yet, “the fullness” was with Christ.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Valaam, pp. 13-23.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. pp. 14-15.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

This positive outlook was evident also in Father Ivan Veniaminov's ethnographies. In Tlingit mythology he perceived "discernible sparks of the true light."<sup>14</sup> In the ancient Aleut character, he recognized "good qualities."<sup>15</sup> In fact, he had such admiration for the Aleut that he considered them to be "excellent ground in which to sow the purest seeds of Christianity" so that "with them almost nothing is impossible."<sup>16</sup>

Thus, almost nothing was impossible. In this climate of healthy-mindedness, Kodiak people became teachers, priests, administrators, navigators, and translators; and in this climate, bilingualism was normal.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Positive Outlook: Its Antecedents*

The Valaam commentary referred to Saint Justin the Martyr. Indeed, the positive outlook can be traced to him, and even earlier to the Gospel according to John, but it was Justin (c. 100-165) who first fully developed it.

Referring to Genesis 1.26, that humanity had been created in the divine image and likeness, Justin explained that the image was the divine presence in human beings. It was a "seed of the Logos" (*sperma tou logou*), a "share of the divine Logos disseminated" (*meros tou spermatikou theiou logou*), within the very nature of humanity.<sup>18</sup> Participating in the divine image, the human person could increase in the divine likeness. In other words, the human person could grow to resemble the divine.

<sup>14</sup>Veniaminov, p. 393.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid. p. 231.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. p. 320.

<sup>17</sup>Michael J. Oleksa, "The Orthodox Christian Mission and the Development of the Aleut Identity among the Native Peoples of Southwestern Alaska," Ph.D. dissertation, Orthodox Theology Faculty, Presov, 1987; idem., "Three Saints Bay and the Evolution of the Aleut Identity," paper presented for the Village Histories project, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1981, rev. and exp. College of Human and Rural Development, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 1982; Oleg Kobtzeff, "La Colonisation russe en Amérique du Nord, 13-19 siècles," dissertation doctorate de troisième cycle, Département d'Histoire, Université de Paris, 1984; P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, trans. and ed. Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly (Seattle, 1978).

<sup>18</sup>Justin Martyr, *Apologia 2 [Appendix] 8.1, 13.3*, in *Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen*, ed. Edgar Goodspeed (Göttingen, 1914; reimpr. New York, 1950), pp. 84,88; *Library of Fathers 9* (Oxford, 1861), pp. 64, 68. In 1914: pp. 84, 88.

However, due to the Fall (the distancing of humanity from divinity), human attributes no longer resembled divine attributes. The likeness had been lost, but the image, although diminished, had not altogether been destroyed because it had been implanted in our very nature. Thus Justin perceived a persisting point of divine contact within the very nature of humanity universally.

Even after the Fall, extraordinary people lived according to the seed of the Logos within them, so that the divine likeness became largely evident in them. Saint Justin's most frequent example was the pre-Christian philosopher Sokrates. Heeding the divine disseminated in his very nature, Sokrates followed the Logos. By conforming to the divine within, Sokrates lived a life of truth and virtue. He was highly illuminated and righteous. Thus he was, as Justin boldly described him, a Christian before Christ.<sup>19</sup>

Nonetheless, Sokrates' illumination and righteousness remained partial in comparison with the fullness which was to come,<sup>20</sup> when through the Incarnation of the Logos in Jesus Christ, the image of God would be fully regained, and the likeness would become fully visible. Then the fullness could be known and received.

Justin thus affirmed two complementary realities in the ancient, pre-Christian culture: (1) the universal dissemination, or presence, of the Logos from whom no one was entirely separated and in whom everyone participated to greater or lesser degrees; and (2) the fullest possibility for union with God (hence, salvation) which was given uniquely through the Incarnation.

Justin wrote one generation after Christ's Apostles. Even earlier, this optimistic view of human nature and pre-Christian culture, so beautifully developed by Justin, was expressed in the Gospel according to John. Rather than stressing the distancing of humanity from divinity, which it clearly recognized (Jn 1.10-11), the Gospel emphasized the positive aspect that everyone existed in and was illumined by the divine Logos (Jn 1.3, 9). The Gospel then brought forth the full life and illumination now possible.

Likewise, mainstream theologians who immediately followed Saint Justin in the late second century expressed the same positive, or optimistic, view: Saint Athenagoras of Athens, Saint Irenaios

<sup>19</sup>Justin, *Apologia* 1.46, and *Apologia* 2 [Appendix] 13.4-6; Goodspeed, pp. 58-59, 89; *Library of Fathers* 9, pp. 35, 68.

<sup>20</sup>Justin, *Apologia* 2 [Appendix] 10. 1-3, 10.8, 13.6; Goodspeed, pp. 85-86, 89; *Library of Fathers* 9, pp. 65-66, 68.

of Lyons, and particularly Saint Clement of Alexandria.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently, many great mainstream theologians shared this outlook. For example, Saint Maximos the Confessor (c. 580-662) emphasized the dissemination of the divine throughout creation: all things contained *logoi*, equivalent to Justin's seed or share. Saint Gregory Palamas (c. 1296-1359) expressed the same insight when he spoke of immanent divine energy deriving from a transcendent divine nature. It was to this latter tradition that the Valaam Monastery referred when it quoted Justin.

### *The Negative Outlook*

There was, however, another attitude, an opposite one. It was derived from a conviction that we would best comprehend the meaning of our condition and our salvation when we had grasped the extent of the depravity of our nature. The emphasis therefore lay on our separation from God, on the consequent corruption of our fallen nature, and on the absolute necessity of our regeneration. This view was expressed most articulately in the early Church by Tertullian (c. 160-225) and by Saint Augustine (354-430).

Accordingly, fallen humanity, wholly ruined, was "marked" with a "sentence of transgression."<sup>22</sup> Sinful at its root, humanity was a "stock condemned."<sup>23</sup> No one was exempt, not even children, for this essential corruption was progenitive, and our condemnation was inherited.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup>E.g. St. Clement's description of Greek philosophy as "a kind of preparation" (*propaideia tis*), "coming beforehand, preparing the way" (*proparaskeuazei toinun he philosophia proodopoiousa*), and as a "schoolmaster" given to the Greeks to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, just as the law had done for the Hebrew mind: Clement of Alexandria, *Stroma* 1.5.28, in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* 52 (15), ed. Otto Stahlin (Berlin, 1960), pp. 17-18, and in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* 4 (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 366.

<sup>22</sup>Tertullian, *De carnis resurrectione* 34, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 47 (Vienna, 1906), p. 73. 19-21; *Ante-Nicene Christian Fathers* 15 (Edinburgh, 1884), pp. 272-73.

<sup>23</sup>Augustine of Hippo, *De peccato originali* 2.43 [38], in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 42 (Vienna, 1902), p. 201. 1-4; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5, 1st ser. (Grand Rapids, 1956), p. 252; idem., "Letter to Valentius" [Epistle 214] 1.3, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5, p. 437.

<sup>24</sup>Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 93 [23, 93], in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 44 (Turnholt, 1969), p. 99; idem., *Enchiridion or Manual to Laurentius*, trans. Ernest Evans (London, 1953), p. 80; idem., "On the Merits and Remission of Sins and on Baptism" 1.15 [12], 1.20-28 [15-20], 2.43 [27], and 3.7 [4],

A soul remained “unclean” (*immunda*) and damned unless “renumerated” (*recenseatur*) in Christ, according to Tertullian,<sup>25</sup> whose formal training in law was reflected in his juridical attitude. The baptismal font was literally a laver, and salvation was a census in which some individuals were cleansed and counted while others clearly were not. According to Augustine,<sup>26</sup> those counted had been chosen and predestined by God. The rest remained unclean, justly damned, and alienated from the divine.

Among the non-elect, there could be very little, if any, illumination and righteousness. This applied even to the great philosophers like Plato. Their knowledge of morality and of divine existence had, according to Tertullian,<sup>27</sup> derived not from within themselves but from the Jewish prophets. The ancient Greeks had received their knowledge from the ancient Jews through the Egyptians. This notion was not too farfetched, for Greek and Egyptian cultures on the one hand, and Egyptian and Jewish cultures on the other hand, had long been in contact. Diffusion was possible. Other early Christian writers such as Justin and Clement mentioned diffusion. However, in Tertullian’s mind, this idea assumed a peculiar importance. For him, the prophets became the philosophers’ primary, if not only, source of revelation. The ancient philosophers’ virtue and truth had come from outside themselves, for within the non-Christian soul, the “primeval good” was entirely eclipsed by evil. Any goodness that “lingered” could merely struggle through as a “stray beam” by “accidental outlet.”<sup>28</sup>

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in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5, pp. 20, 22-25, 62, 71; idem., *De peccato originali* 2.44 [39], in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 5, p. 253. See also, Henry Chadwick, *Augustine* (Oxford, 1986), p. 111. Compare Tertullian *De anima* 40, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 20 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 367-68, and in *Ante-Nicene Christian Fathers* 15, p. 504. Here, Tertullian assigned this condemnation to children of pagan parents and attributed the corruption to these parents’ invocations of pagan gods during gestations and births.

<sup>25</sup>Tertullian, *De anima* 40, in *Corpus Scriptorum* 20, p. 367 (lines 12-13). The translation (*Ante-Nicene Christian Fathers* 15, p. 504) weakens the original by rendering Tertullian’s *recenseatur* into the phrase “born again.” For Tertullian, see Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford, 1971).

<sup>26</sup>See Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London, 1967), pp. 350, 398-407; H. Chadwick, *Augustine*, pp. 115-17.

<sup>27</sup>Tertullian, *De anima* 41, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 505.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

Thus, Tertullian thrust a wide wedge between Christian culture and non-Christian culture, and he posed the rhetorical question: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" Athens signified non-Christian culture; Jerusalem, Christian culture. The gulf between them was ontological, as it existed in the very natures of the elect regenerated and the non-elect non-regenerated. For the latter, regeneration and redemption required a complete change of nature, cultural as well as personal.

This outlook remained a local, minor current in the early Church. It developed especially in the Roman province of Carthage where Tertullian and Saint Augustine lived (present-day Tunisia and northeastern Algeria).<sup>29</sup> Tertullian came into conflict with predominant attitudes, and he separated himself from mainstream Christianity to become a leader of a rigorous sect. As for Saint Augustine, whose thought was more complex than his pessimism in these matters, this negativity of his was strongly criticized by a contemporary, Saint John Cassian (c. 360-435), a monk from Marseilles. Cassian's view reflected mainstream thought.<sup>30</sup> Even a local council held in Augustine's region during his own lifetime, the Council of Carthage in 418 A.D., did not completely endorse the bishop of Hippo's pessimism in these matters.<sup>31</sup> A century later, another council, the Second Council of Orange in 529 A.D., endorsed more than the Carthaginian council but still remained less severe than Augustine and Tertullian,<sup>32</sup> and this was the only important conciliar pronouncement of this sort in the early Church.

<sup>29</sup>N. P. Williams and P. Brown, each of whom has a different response to this type of theology (the one unfavorable, the other favorable), both identify it as a specifically African doctrine: Norman Powell Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin: A Historical and Critical Survey*, Oxford University Bampton Lectures (London, 1927); P. Brown, p. 406.

<sup>30</sup>E.g., John Cassian, "Conference 13" (lines 4-5): "The philosophers had a sort of *merike* [part, share]"; 13 (line 8): "the divine protection is inseparably present with us"; 13 (line 12): "for we should not hold that God made man such that he can never will or be capable of what is good." In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* 11, 2nd. ser. (New York, 1894), pp. 424, 426, 428. See also, Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian*, 2nd ed. (London, 1968).

<sup>31</sup>*Concilium Arausicanum Secundum de gratia et libero arbitrio*, in *Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine and the Acts of the Second Council of Orange*, introduced by William Bright (Oxford, 1880), pp. 384-392; also in N. P. Williams, p. 391.

<sup>32</sup>F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. rev. (Oxford, 1983), p. 1001; N. P. Williams, p. 397.



The negative outlook however came to the fore with vigor a thousand years later when it was expressed in two important works: the "Formula of Concord" and the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. The "Formula," written by a number of Lutheran theologians in 1577 but not by Luther himself, had limited acceptance. The book in which it was published, *The Book of Concord*, was rejected by the Danes and by others,<sup>33</sup> and according to a modern Lutheran theologian Gustaf Aulen,<sup>34</sup> it deviated from Luther's own view. (Aulen convincingly argues that Luther's view was, in contrast, positive, or optimistic.)

The other important work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, was written by John Calvin (1509-1564). Throughout the book, he rightly referred this negative outlook to Augustine of Hippo, but he did so as if Augustine's pessimism in these matters represented early Christian and biblical thought.<sup>35</sup> Calvin also interpreted the Gospel along these lines. For instance, he wrote:<sup>36</sup> "For a heavenly Judge, even our Savior declares that all are by birth vicious and depraved, when he says that 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh' (Jn 3.6), and that therefore the gate of life is closed against all until they have been regenerated." Calvin, like his early predecessor, Augustine, whom he consistently cited, extended this indictment even to infants. They brought "condemnation with them from their mother's womb," their nature was "a seed-bed of sin," and they were "odious and abominable to God."<sup>37</sup>

If infants were odious and abominable, one might easily imagine what heathens would be. Calvin admitted "some sense of deity" among the later by "natural instinct,"<sup>38</sup> which God had allowed universally or nearly universally. But God had allowed it not as a potential participation in and sanctification by the divine; rather, he had given it as a judgement:<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Cross and Livingstone, p. 327.

<sup>34</sup>Gustaf Aulen, *Christus Victor: A Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement* (London, 1950).

<sup>35</sup>E.g., Calvin, *Institutes* 2.2.4, in *Opera Selecta* 3, 2nd ed. rev., ed. Petrus Barth and Guilelmus Niesel (Berlin, 1962), p. 245 (lines 18-25), and in *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 1, trans. Henry Beveridge (London, 1949), p. 226.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid. 2.1.6, in *Opera*, p. 235. 30-34; Beveridge, p. 216.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. 2.1.8, in *Opera*, p. 237. 28-30; Beveridge, pp. 217-18.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid. 1.3.1, in *Opera*, pp. 37-38; Beveridge, pp. 43-44.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

. . . God himself, to prevent any man from pretending ignorance, has endued all men with some idea of his Godhead, the memory of which he constantly renews and occasionally enlarges, that all to a man, being aware that there is a God, and that he is their Maker, may be condemned by their own conscience when they neither worship him nor consecrate their lives to his service.

These severe words should be studied in context. In his own culture Calvin, like Augustine, incited his own people by these harsh admonitions to a vigorous pursuit of virtue. At the same time he, like his predecessor, comforted his own with the emphasis on their election, a surety of redemption. One may easily imagine the purposefulness, the confidence and the vitality that these strong convictions aroused. However, one must also imagine the effects when these convictions were applied adamantly to foreign people in other cultures.

This application occurred in Alaska in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Education was an example. During the last decades of the nineteenth century when the territorial Agent of Education was, as described by his biographer, an "unbending Calvinist,"<sup>40</sup> schools were segregated, and in the schools for native pupils instruction was in English only. Alaskan languages along with other aspects of Alaskan cultures were devalued and demeaned: unilateral assimilation to the Agent of Education's culture was expected. During the first half of the twentieth century, schoolteachers with the same expectation washed Alaskan children's mouths with soap "for speaking native," according to southern Alaskans who experienced this treatment. Between the ancient Alaskan cultures (which from this outlook would be considered depraved) and the schools' culture (which from this outlook would be considered graced), these educators drove Tertullian's wide wedge. The effect was the unnecessary destruction of wholesome aspects of Alaskan cultures, such as the languages.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Theodore Charles Hinckley, Jr., "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson, 1877-1890," Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Indiana University, 1961, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

<sup>41</sup>The educational policy and its effect on Alaska languages have been described by Richard John Dauenhauer, "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education," paper presented at the Alaska Association of Teachers of English Conference, Bethel, Alaska, 1979; idem., "The Spiritual Epiphany of the Aleuts," *Orthodox Alaska* 8.1 (1979) 13-42; Michael E. Krause, *Alaska Native Languages*:

(It must be mentioned and emphasized that these practices and this outlook do not characterize major modern churches in Alaska that have developed from Calvinist roots, like the Presbyterians on the North Slope. These churches have grown to greater awareness and admirable sensitivity. Also, such practices were not the fault of Calvinist churches alone: other groups did likewise elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> The fault occurred wherever a group forced its own culture upon another people without discerning the desirable from the undesirable, the essential from the non-essential in the others' culture nor indeed in their own culture.)

#### *A Summary Contrast*

Different currents of thought about non-Christian culture run through the course of Christian history, and they have forged two broad outlooks: one positive, the other negative. The positive perceives an enduring, potential presence of the divine within the human, a presence that is so deeply seeded in human nature that it persists universally. Through this perspective, relative righteousness and illumination are seen in non-Christian cultures. In contrast, the negative focuses on the separation between humanity and divinity and posits between the two a gulf so wide that the good among non-Christians is seen as but an epiphenomenon overlaying the reality of an essentially depraved nature in need of absolute regeneration.

While the two outlooks have been presented in this paper purposefully in stark contrast to each other, they are mutually exclusive only at their extremes. At the center where they run close, their

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*Past, Present, and Future*, Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers, no. 4 (Fairbanks, 1980).

Arrogance deriving from presumptions about cultural and racial superiority could combine with the strong belief in predestination so that they created an unsuccessful, indeed a destructive, mission even when translations were made into the native language: see Chapter 4, "Northeastern Indians, English Missions," in Henry Warner Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Culture Conflict* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 96-133.

<sup>42</sup>Some Roman Catholics in Latin America, see e.g. Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 15-108; Some Russian Orthodox in parts of Siberia, see e.g. Eugene Smirnov, *A Short Account of the Historical Development and Present Position of Russian Orthodox Missions* (London, 1903; reprint ed. Powys, G.B., 1986), pp. 6-11.

currents mix and can be mutually enriching.

The positive outlook can be traced from the apostolic era to Veniaminov and Valaam who saw ancient southern Alaskan cultures including Kodiak culture as basically good and highly potential.

### *A Conclusive Word about the Positive Outlook*

The positive outlook is not naive. As the philosopher James observed, systematic healthy-mindedness is selective: it chooses goodness as "the essential and universal aspect of being" and "disregards the other aspects."<sup>43</sup> The healthy-mindedness of Saint Justin the Martyr and Saint Clement of Alexandria is an example. While perceiving that the divine was disseminated throughout humanity, Saint Justin and Saint Clement identified an aspect of ancient Greek culture as relative participation and as preparation for greater participation in the divine. This aspect was philosophy. More than an intellectual dialectic, ancient Greek philosophy was comprised of systems of contemplation and asceticism which were meant to lead to a noetic comprehension, or a vision and experience, of ultimate reality. This was true of Aristotelian philosophy, just as it was of Platonic philosophy, especially as Aristotle's *Protreptikos* was widely read during the first centuries A.D.<sup>44</sup> While endorsing this aspect of ancient Greek culture, Justin and Clement regarded other aspects differently. They did not endorse the hierophanies of the Hellenistic mystery religions — the Orphaic, Eleusian, Dionysiac, and Corybantic religions as well as others — whose initiates claimed to achieve union with the divine (or with a particular divinity) through ecstasies which were ritually induced. Saint Justin and Saint Clement considered these practices to be entirely deceptive.<sup>45</sup> However, Justin and Clement did not dismiss them uncritically. To the contrary Saint Clement assessed them with such detail that his work comprised

<sup>43</sup>James, p. 88.

<sup>44</sup>Ingemar During, *Aristotle's Protrepticus: An Attempt at Reconstruction*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 12, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis (Stockholm, 1961).

<sup>45</sup>Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos* 2.22 (line 3), in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* 12, 3rd ed. rev., ed. Otto Stahlin and Ursula Treu. (Berlin, 1972), p. 17; *Exhortation to the Greeks* trans. G. W. Butterworth (London, 1979), p. 44; Justin Martyr, *Apologia* 1.62. 1-2; 1.64. 1-6; Goodspeed, pp. 71, 73-74; *Library of Fathers* 9, pp. 48, 50.

an ethnography of Hellenistic religions. Thus, Clement and Justin's healthy-mindedness was systematic and selective. It was informed and discerning.

Similarly, Veniaminov and Valaam were informed and discerning, not naive. Veniaminov did not endorse those ancient southern Alaskan shamanistic practices which involved induced ecstasies, spirit invocations, spirit manifestations, and secret paraphernalia such as dolls.<sup>46</sup> Veniaminov knew about these things: he himself was a Siberian-Russian and an ethnographer of Alaskan cultures. Also, he had the exceptional ability to distinguish between types of mystical experiences, an ability which he proved in Alaska.<sup>47</sup> Finally, he considered the southern Alaskans' qualities in detail before coming to his positive conclusions.<sup>48</sup> Valaam did the same: its commentary considered qualities before commending them.<sup>49</sup> Thus, Veniaminov's and Valaam's healthy-mindedness regarding ancient southern Alaskan cultures was systematic (according to James' use of this word). Having perceived more good qualities than bad and having perceived these qualities to be intrinsic, Veniaminov and Valaam brought them forth as the essential characteristic of these cultures.

It was therefore with informed discernment that Valaam recognized the moral ideas of the ancient Kodiak people along with those of the ancient Aleut people to be "pure and elevated."<sup>50</sup> It was with discernment that Valaam saw the "spark of God's truth" among these people.<sup>51</sup> And it was with clarity of vision that Veniaminov saw them as "excellent" so that with them, as he

<sup>46</sup>Veniaminov, *Notes*, pp. 219-20; idem., "The Condition of the Orthodox Church in Russian America," trans. and ed. Robert Nichols and Robert Croskey, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 63.2 (1972) 49; S. A. Mousalimas, "Shamans of Old in Southern Alaska," paper presented at the Twelfth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Symposium on Shamanism, Zagreb, July 1988.

<sup>47</sup>S. A. Mousalimas, "Patristics and Russian Orthodox Missionary Work in Alaska," paper presented at the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, August 1987; idem., "Russian Orthodox Missionaries and Southern Alaskan Shamans: Interactions and Analysis," paper presented at the Second International Conference on Russian America, Sitka, August 1987.

<sup>48</sup>Veniaminov, *Notes*, pp. 166-88, 427-34.

<sup>49</sup>Valaam, pp. 12-23.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid. p. 32.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. p. 15.

said,<sup>52</sup> almost nothing is impossible.

<sup>52</sup>Veniaminov, *Notes*, p. 320.

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interpreting these positions.

The treatment of the major developments in Roman Catholic liturgical practice and doctrinal discussion both before and after the Second Vatican Council are a very important reference resource. Several important ecumenical documents are included as well. However, an encyclopedia of this significance could have been enhanced by article entries by Protestant and Orthodox specialists in the field of eucharistic theology and history when topics touch on these traditions. Indeed, the absence of treatments of the very fruitful Orthodox work of Schmemann, German Catholic Luther scholarship and other hopeful irenic developments gives the treatment a certain imbalance. Nevertheless, the seriousness and comprehensiveness of Roman Catholic eucharistic concerns are well documented. Occasional inaccuracies, like characterizing the initial Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith evaluation of the Anglican Roman Catholic *Final Report* as though it was the full Catholic response or failing to treat of the new code of canon law's intercommunion directives and the variety of diocesan guidelines around the world, leaves the text somewhat unbalanced.

The volume is clearly written and well edited and presented. It will be an invaluable library reference.

Jeffrey Gros, FSC  
National Council of Churches of Christ, USA

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omnipotence of His Godhead He is everywhere, in His human nature we confess Him as being in heaven and sitting at the right hand of His Father. He is one Godhead with God the Father and with the Holy Spirit. It is He who calls us to the paradise of eternal joy . . .” (pp. 4-5). It is He who is “our merciful and skilled physician”; “Savior, because He saves all”; “Redeemer, because He redeems all”; “Deliverer, because He gives freedom to all”; “Invisible Being, Giving and Giver of all life”; and “the Truth” as contrasted to the idols (pp. 6-15).

Both *The Wheat of Christ* and *The Contest of the Holy Martyr Dorothy* elucidate the role and function of the martyred saints in the history of the Christian Church and their significance for the faithful today.

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*Doors of Perception: Icons and Their Spiritual Significance* with an Appendix by Richard Temple. By John Bagglely. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988. Pp. xii (including map) + 160 (including 18 plates). \$37.50, hardbound; \$12.95, paper.

*Doors of Perception* is an introduction to Orthodox Christian iconography by an Anglican who has developed an appreciation and love of Orthodox icons. John Bagglely has been vicar of St. Peter’s, De Beauvoir Town, Hackney, London, and is presently Team Rector of the Bicester Team of Parishes in Oxfordshire. He indicates that his “book is written from within the Western Christian tradition, and primarily with Western Christian readers in mind. It is intended to foster the interest in icons that already exists among many Western Christians, and to take that interest beyond the level of merely looking at religious pictures” (pp. 3-4). But what he has to say will be of use to Orthodox readers and viewers as well because he has the vantage point of the interested and educated observer, especially when he indicates that “icons form a door into the divine realm, a meeting point of divine grace and human need; moreover, they are also a way by which we enter more deeply into our own interior life. And that journey, that exploration is aided by considering the icons from the different standpoint of history, theology, imagery and spirituality” (p. 4).

The eight chapters of this compact book are fairly brief and quite concise. They are called (1) "A Way In"; (2) "Historical Background: Beginnings"; (3) "Historical Background: The Triumph of Orthodoxy and Later Developments"; (4) "Biblical Language: Verbal and Visual Imagery"; (5) "Biblical Interpretation: Allegory, and the Influence of Alexandrian Christianity"; (6) "The Spirituality of Icon Painters"; (7) "The Visual Language of Icons"; and (8) "Icons and Their Environment." Richard Temple of the Temple Gallery in London provides an appendix of icons (plates) of the Smolensk Mother of God, Christ Pantokrator, Deesis, the Holy Trinity, St. Mark, St. John the Evangelist, St. Nicholas, St. Sergius, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism of the Lord, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Raising of Lazarus, the Crucifixion, the Anastasis (the Harrowing of Hell), the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Kariye Djami, Istanbul (Christ Pantokrator and the Anastasis), with pertinent but moderated commentary.

The two traditions of iconography are underlined: the *Acheiropoietos* and Luke as the first painter. It is stressed that (1) through icons the Holy Spirit can lead to the truth of Christ that cannot be solely comprehended by the intellect but to a truth that can lead to the healing and restoration of man who is in the image of God, and (2) icons are a medium of revelation by which the grace of God can enter our souls. The three images that were adopted for Christian use are duly discussed: (1) the lamb; (2) the praying figure ("orant"); and (3) the seated philosopher with scroll in hand, symbolizing philanthropy, piety, and wisdom. Throughout emphasis is placed on the icons' relation to the Church's spiritual tradition: "The icon is not an idol, but a symbol by means of which contact is made with a more profound reality. We must look upon icons as doors or windows through which we are open to the sanctifying grace of the Spirit, a meeting point of man and God, continuing the work of the Incarnation in a way that combines with the Scriptures to lead man into the Divine Life of the Blessed Trinity" (pp. 24-25).

The three periods of Byzantine iconography are appropriately noted (Macedonian, Komnenian, Palaiologian), as is the flourishing of Russian iconography, especially at Novgorod, Pskov, and Moscow, and the relation of iconography to hesychasm. Special attention is given to the use of mountain tops, the Temple, the

Kingdom of God, the Good Shepherd, the Transfiguration, the Resurrection, the Raising of Lazarus, the Descent into Hell, and the Ascent of the Ladder. The Lives of the Saints are discussed as setting forth "an encouraging example for those still treading the earthly pilgrimage and 'looking to Jesus, the pioneer and perfecter of our faith' (Hebrews 12.2)" (p. 56). Sanctification and martyrdom are reviewed, and the place of the *Philokalia* and hesychasm are taken into account. It is pointed out that hesychast tradition urges watchfulness and attentiveness so that many icons reveal a sense of stillness and inner recollection. With regard to the human image, "Man is made in the image of God and called to share in the divine likeness" (p. 89). The call has been validated by the Incarnation, and the Church has arranged icons usually according to the annual cycle of festivals in the Christian year, thus calling attention to special events and dogmatic truths by means of the iconostasis and by means of the icons which anchor individual spirituality to the liturgy.

John Bagglely appreciates the richness of the Orthodox Christian heritage and especially sees the special appeal that Christian art can have for the promotion of Christian spirituality. In this regard he says, "The holy icons form one important starting point for the exploration of this inheritance, for the icons cannot be understood apart from the faith they enshrine and represent; they form part of the visual language of Orthodoxy; and like the verbal language of the Church, this visual language is there to lead us from the beauty of what can be seen and heard with the senses, to the beauty and goodness of the invisible God who has been revealed in his perfect image and likeness, Jesus Christ" (p. 98).

*Doors of Perception* presents the Western reader with a reliable introduction to Orthodox Christian iconography. It is not a scholarly account, nor an all-embracing one (Bagglely is apparently unaware of the work of Constantine Cavarnos and Constantine Kalokyris on the subject), but it is a marvelous introduction to the world of Orthodox Christian iconography that does justice to the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition and makes excellent sense to adherents of the Western Christian tradition. A parallel edition has been published by A. R. Mowbray & Co.

*John E. Rexine*  
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of the School, which was the prime thing that was learned at Pomfret, as taught by Bishop Athenagoras: "to conduct one's self in a manner befitting a holy person, one worthy of reverence." It was this ideal that the Seminary at Pomfret encapsulated and this heritage which it bequeathed to all the seminarians who followed.

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*Faith for a Lifetime. A Spiritual Journey.* By Archbishop Iakovos (with William Proctor). New York: Doubleday, 1988. Pp. 182. \$14.95, cloth.

The author of this present review must confess that he is "prejudiced" towards Archbishop Iakovos, the brilliant spiritual leader of the Greek Orthodox Church in this country. Because it is with feelings of true filial affection for His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos that he writes this review. To be sure, not all that the Archbishop writes in his book finds me in complete agreement with him. On the other hand, any objective reader will find this book inspiring, revealing, moving, and didactic in many ways. However, the present book does not truly show the depth of the excellent mind of the Archbishop. It does, however, reveal his long "spiritual journey," as the subtitle of the book states. But I venture to suggest that it is also a revealing, open mirror of the Archbishop's own personal struggle, spiritual efforts, personal agonies, failures, victories, in short, his own personal history. And the Archbishop does that very well indeed.

His Eminence has been characterized as being brilliant, hard-working, creative, effective, paternal, and forgiving. This characterization is quite true. But a man of his dynamic personality and active involvement in ecclesiastical, political, and social affairs could not but be also controversial. Some think that he is aloof, inaccessible, and strong-willed. The present book, however, dispels these notions.

In the book three things moved me: the Archbishop's repeated reference to his mother, a pious, humble and loving mother who instilled in him unfailing devotion to Christ and his Church. Second, his most respectful reference to his "Geronta," his own spiritual

father, the late Metropolitan of Derkon in Constantinople, whose philanthropic activities benefited the young clergyman greatly. Third, his continuous reference to children. In this latter instance, the Archbishop reveals his empathy for children, a characteristic of a good and caring pastor of the Church. He still remembers with nostalgia his own childhood, and shows how deeply he cares for children. He never refuses to receive and talk with a young child, showing that the pragmatism of bureaucratic and administrative duties do not eliminate from his heart the tenderness and simplicity which is found in small children. Those who know the Archbishop well claim quite rightly that he preserves an inner childlike peace and goodness, which apparently make him so attractive, peaceful, and self-assuring.

The scope of the book is large and covers the spectrum of a half-century of priestly ministry which has made him a "celebrity" all over the world. At the same time, however, he has provoked strong criticism, accusations, and loud protests. The fact that his life was threatened repeatedly testifies to the following truth: that great men also attract disapproval and enmity. But the Archbishop, to his personal credit, withstood all these attacks, dangers, and risks with unfailing faith and robust rectitude. In the fifteenth chapter of the book, he speaks about "casting out fear" which one may achieve only with God's presence in one's life. He sincerely claims that he is not afraid of death, and he bravely waits for the moment when he will give to his Creator the "good report" during the Last Judgment, where all of us will be judged accordingly. His recollection of "floating," while a patient in the hospital in Boston when he was seriously ill, proves his strong fearless commitment to Christ, and the expectation that someday he will be in a closer relationship with God. Out of his pastoral experience, he describes his attitude at funerals when he tries to offer consolation and support to the living relatives of the deceased. In a moving chapter he relates his own feelings about "burnout" which affects many people of our times, both clergy and laity, and particularly among the achievers of our society. Being an extremely active personality, the Archbishop could not avoid this burnout, this spiritual malady of our secular times. His medicine is found in the development of his "spiritual horticulture," an on-going effort to grow in God's grace and be transformed in the image of Christ (p. 117). Joy, love, peace, and gentleness are the ingre-

dients of a true spiritual renewal, and the Archbishop has often tasted these blessed fruits of the Holy Spirit, through prayer and hard work. It is consoling to note that the Archbishop does not ignore the importance of "koinonia," of fellowship and togetherness in the life in Christ, in the presence of the Holy Spirit. He finds this fellowship in the participation of the Holy Eucharist, in the Divine Liturgy, and especially in the Services of Holy Week, canceling all administrative activities in order to concentrate prayerfully in the mystery of the death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. He devotes a whole chapter (no. 20) to the imperative use and necessity of dialogue, in both the liturgical and teaching expressions and activities of the Church. Indeed, the Archbishop is correct in stating that interaction and deep dialogue must be the characteristics of Christ's ministry. Active participation in the Liturgy, Bible classes, discussion groups, involvement of the people in the life of the Church, and a continuous readiness to answer to the spiritual needs of the people are imperative in order to convey the redemptive message of the Church. At the same time, the excellent treatment of Christian marriage and the sensitive discussion of celibacy, which he puts in the proper spiritual perspective, that is, not of worldly ambitions, but in the frame of prayer and service to God, are noteworthy. And speaking of service, in one of the most moving chapters (no. 24), the Archbishop expresses very convincingly the absolute necessity of servanthood as the most important requirement of following and obeying Christ to the end. Only by becoming a servant can the true Christian taste the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

Of course, the Archbishop does not hesitate to reveal and describe some of the difficult times in his life. On p. 41, he relates the story of his confrontation with the Greek-speaking press when he introduced the greater use of the English language in the worship of the Church: "with more emphasis in English," the Archbishop writes. The uproar which followed forced the Archbishop to think of submitting his resignation to Patriarch Athenagoras. In time, history will judge his agonizing decision. One of the most revealing themes discussed is his reservation about the Ecumenical Movement, as well as his hesitance to proceed with missionary work overseas, when there is need here in America to attract and bring to the Church our own people in a more meaningful and effective way. I share the Archbishop's arguments, as well as his serious,



thoughtful and mature stand on political activism. His seven "commandments" are admirable and his stand on abortion, homosexuality, and the development of a so-called "Christian America" are sound and compassionate, based on the fundamentals of the Orthodox tradition. His references to President Eisenhower, President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State George Shultz, are understandable and noteworthy.

I would disagree, however, with his assertion that, "he is not a theologian" (p. 151). By virtue of his office, his education, his intelligence and his spiritual life, he *is* a theologian. The office of the bishop is by nature a theological office. The mere presence of the bishop testifies and becomes a living presence of Christ himself. The Archbishop has studied the Bible in depth. He moves easily and with comfort into the treasures of the Bible, and all who have heard his sermons are inspired by his effective use of the biblical texts in the delivery of his evangelical message. Twice he refers to Saint Basil the Great, for whom he expresses his admiration and respect. I did expect, however, a broader use of the Fathers of the Church. Apparently, the Archbishop felt that his book was targeted mostly to readers who perhaps are not familiar with the Orthodox patristic tradition.

Finally, one cannot but express appreciation that a man like Archbishop Iakovos, one of the great hierarchs of our Church during this century, took the time and had the courage, sincerity, and candor to open his heart and mind widely enough so as to communicate and share with others his own extensive and inspiring priestly experiences of a long, productive, admirable, and truly blessed life. With this sharing of his own inner spiritual life, he made himself even more available to his flock, more appreciated, estimable, and loved.

This beautiful book by Archbishop Iakovos crowns his long list of achievements. I recommend it strongly not only to clergy and laity, but to all who aspire to the spiritual life at large.

*George S. Bebis*

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## Faith, Sacraments, and the Unity of the Church: The Text and A Response

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Introduction by  
THOMAS FITZGERALD

THE "JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE THEOLOGICAL Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church" released its second statement in August, 1987. The statement is a result of the meeting of the Commission which took place from June 9 to the 16th at the Oasi Sancta Maria, Cassano delle Murge, near Bari, Italy. This meeting was viewed as the continuation of another held at the same location in 1986. Earlier meetings of the full Commission were held on Patmos and Rhodes in 1980, in Munich in 1982, and on Crete in 1984. The Munich meeting produced the first statement entitled "The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Holy Trinity."

The International Commission was formally established by the two Churches in 1979. It is composed of twenty-eight Roman Catholic members and twenty-eight Orthodox members. Each of the fourteen autonomous and autocephalous Orthodox Churches have two representatives on the Commission. Representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Archbishop Stylianos of Australia serves as the Orthodox co-chairman. The president of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Jan Cardinal Willebrands, serves as the Roman Catholic co-chairman. The distinguished membership of the Commission reflects the fact that both Churches place great emphasis upon its activity.

The text of the Bari Statement is divided into two parts. The first part, entitled "Faith and Communion in the Sacraments,"

seeks to identify the central themes which need to be agreed upon by the Churches prior to the restoration of full communion. The Commission clearly operates on the premise that unity of faith is the prerequisite for unity in the sacramental life, especially the Eucharist. The central themes which the text identifies are: 1) True faith is a divine gift and free response of the human person, 2) The liturgical expression of the faith, 3) The Holy Spirit and the Sacraments, 4) The faith formulated and celebrated in the sacraments, 5) Conditions for communion of faith, 6) True faith and communion in the sacraments, and 7) The unity of the Church in faith and sacraments.

The second part of the Bari Statement, entitled "The Sacraments of Christian Initiation: Their Relationship to the Unity of the Church," deals chiefly with those points of liturgical practice which presently differ markedly between the two Churches. Brief though it may be, this section attempts to address in a preliminary manner issues such as Baptismal immersion/infusion, the separation of Chrismation/Confirmation from Baptism in the Catholic Church, as well as that Church's practice of permitting the reception of Holy Communion prior to Confirmation. The fact that a deacon in the Catholic Church may be the ordinary minister of Baptism is also mentioned as a difference in the practices of the two Churches.

With regard to a number of these points, the Statement does not seek to provide some historical, theological, and pastoral perspectives which have led to the divergent practices. Given the magnitude with which some view these differences, however, one would have appreciated greater elaboration on a common understanding of the true significance of these liturgical practices.

It should be also noted that the text identifies quite briefly seven essential points regarding the doctrine of Baptism on which the two Churches are in agreement. Here as well, the reader would certainly have benefited from greater elaboration of these points. These points of doctrinal agreement may appear obvious to the members of the Commission. However, the fact remains that many persons, both theologically trained and otherwise, continue to call to mind the points of differences between the two Churches but do not always pay sufficient attention to crucial points of doctrinal agreement.

There is no discussion in the text of the crucial issue of the

mutual recognition of Baptism. While the commissioners can, in fact, affirm a number of points of essential agreement on the doctrine of Baptism, they are not prepared to publicly affirm jointly the recognition of each other's Sacraments of Initiation. Given the fact that the International Commission is at the beginning stages of its development and the fact that further study of certain questions is desirable, it may be too much too soon to expect such an affirmation. It should be noted, however, that the American Consultation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians in 1984 did in fact recommend that both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church "explore the possibility of a formal recognition of each other's Baptism as a sacrament of our unity in the body of Christ, although we acknowledge that any such recognition is conditioned by other factors." It would seem that this recommendation should not go unheeded by the International Commission.

The Bari Statement ends rather abruptly with an affirmation which is significant and, regretfully, quite underdeveloped. The commissioners conclude with a reference to a statement from the Council of Constantinople, 879-80. This reference is significant for two major reasons. Firstly, although this council considered itself to be 'Ecumenical,' it has not as yet been formally recognized as such by both Churches. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes an earlier assembly of bishops in 869 at Constantinople to be its Eighth Ecumenical Council. History would seem to indicate, however, that the Council of 879 may have greater justification for being so designated by both Churches. Indeed, this may be a topic which both Churches might wish to study jointly.

Secondly, the commissioners remind us of the observation of the fathers of that Council that "each see would retain the ancient usages of its tradition, the Church of Rome preserving its usages, the Church of Constantinople its own, and the thrones of the East also doing the same." This observation is truly an important one because it raises the whole question of the legitimate diversity of customs and liturgical traditions. As the fathers of the Council of Constantinople wisely affirmed, each local church is entitled to maintain its own particular traditions. Simply stated, unity in faith does not require conformity in traditions. It would appear that this principle is one which certainly deserves greater attention in the dialogue between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

A very valuable response to the Bari Statement is the one produced by the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States at its meeting of May 31-June 2, 1988. The statement reflects discussion undertaken at that meeting of the consultation as well as at the previous meeting of October 29-31, 1987.

The American Consultation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians was established in 1965 by the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Presiding at the meetings which produced the response were Bishop Maximos of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of Pittsburgh (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and Bishop Arthur O'Neill of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockford, Illinois. The American Consultation has published eleven Agreed Statements. The most recent was "Apostolicity as God's Gift in the Life of the Church."

The response to the Bari Statement by the American Consultation has two parts. The first is a generally positive assessment of the Bari Statement which recognizes the need for greater precision in places. The second part is devoted to technical corrections of the text in its English translation. This is offered with the conviction that the Bari Statement deserves greater circulation in an English version which more accurately reflects the original French and Greek texts.

Despite the limitations inherent in such a process, nonetheless the significance of the statements issued by the International Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Consultation cannot be underestimated. The work of the Commission deserves greater attention both from theologians and from those involved directly with the pastoral care of the faithful in both Churches.

# THE JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

## FAITH, SACRAMENTS AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

### *Introduction*

(1) After our meeting in Munich in 1982 and in accord with the *Plan* adopted by our commission during its first meeting at Rhodes in 1980, this fourth session of the commission has undertaken to consider the question of the relation between faith and sacramental communion.

(2) As was stated in the *Plan* of our dialogue, which was approved at Rhodes, unity in faith is a presupposition for unity in the sacraments, and especially in the Holy Eucharist. But this commonly accepted principle raises some fundamental issues which require consideration. Does faith amount to adhering to formulas or is it also something else? Faith, which is a divine gift, should be understood as a commitment of the Christian, a commitment of mind, heart, and will. In its profound reality it is also an *ecclesial* event which is realized and accomplished in and through the communion of the Church, in its liturgical and especially in its eucharistic expression. This ecclesial and liturgical character of the faith must be taken seriously into consideration.

(3) Given this fundamental character of faith, it is necessary to affirm that faith must be taken as a preliminary condition, already complete in itself, which precedes sacramental communion; and also that it is increased by sacramental communion, which is the expression of the very life of the Church and the means of the spiritual growth of each of its members. This question has to be raised in order to avoid a deficient approach to the problem of faith as a condition for unity. It should not, however, serve to obscure the fact that faith *is* such a condition, and that there cannot be sacramental communion without communion in faith both in the broader sense and in the sense of dogmatic formulation.

(4) In addition to the question of faith as a presupposition of sacramental communion and in close connection with it, following the *Plan* of the dialogue, we have also considered in our meetings the relation of what are called sacraments of initiation, — i.e. baptism, confirmation or chrismation and Eucharist, — to each

other and to the unity of the Church. At this point it is necessary to examine if our two Churches are confronted simply with a difference in liturgical practice or also in doctrine, since liturgical practice and doctrine are linked to one another. Should we consider these three sacraments as belonging to one sacramental reality or as three autonomous sacramental acts? It should also be asked if for the sacraments of initiation a difference in liturgical practice between the two traditions raises a problem of doctrinal divergence, which could be considered a serious obstacle to unity.

#### FAITH AND COMMUNION IN THE SACRAMENTS

Faith is inseparably both the gift of God who reveals himself and the response of the human person who receives this gift. This is the synergy of the grace of God and human freedom. The locus of this communion is the Church. In the Church, revealed truth is transmitted according to the tradition of the apostles based on the Scriptures, by means of the ecumenical councils, liturgical life, and the Fathers of the Church; and is put into practice by the members of the Body of Christ. The faith of the Church constitutes the norm and the criterion of the personal act of faith. Faith is not the product of an elaboration or of a logical necessity, but of the influence of the grace of the Holy Spirit. The Apostle Paul received grace "in the obedience of faith" (Rom 1.5). Saint Basil says on this subject: "Faith precedes discourse about God; faith and not demonstration. Faith which is above logical methods leads to consent. Faith is born not of geometric necessities, but of the energies of the Spirit" (In Ps 115.1).

(6) Every sacrament presupposes and expresses the faith of the Church which celebrates it. Indeed, in a sacrament the Church does more than profess and express its faith: it makes present the mystery it is celebrating. The Holy Spirit reveals the Church as the Body of Christ which he constitutes and makes grow. Thus the Church nourishes and develops the communion of the faith of its members through the sacraments.

*1. True faith is a divine gift and free response of the human person.*

(7) Faith is a gift of the Holy Spirit. Through faith God grants salvation. Through it, humanity has access to the mystery of Christ who constitutes the Church and whom the Church communicates



through the Holy Spirit who dwells in it. The Church can only transmit what causes it to exist. Now, there is only one mystery of Christ and God's gift is unique, whole and irrevocable (Rom 11.29). As for its content, faith embraces the totality of doctrine and church practice relating to salvation. Dogma, conduct and liturgical life overlap each other to form a single whole and together constitute the treasure of faith. Linking in a remarkable fashion the theoretical and practical character of faith, Saint John Damascene says: "This [faith] is made perfect by all that Christ decreed, faith through works, respect for and practice of the commandments of the One who has renewed us. Indeed, the one who does not believe according to the tradition of the Catholic Church or who by unseemly works is in communion with the devil, is an infidel" (*De fide orthodoxa* 4,10,83).

(8) Given by God, the faith announced by the Church is proclaimed, lived and transmitted in a local, visible church in communion with all the local churches spread over the world, that is, the catholic Church of all times and everywhere. The human person is integrated into the Body of Christ by his or her "koinônia" (communion) with this visible church which nourishes this faith by means of the sacramental life and the word of God, and in which the Holy Spirit works in the human person.

(9) One can say that, in this way, the gift of faith exists in the single church in its concrete historical situation, determined by the environment and the times, and therefore in each and all of the believers under the guidance of their pastors. In human language and in a variety of cultural and historical expressions, the human person must always remain faithful to this gift of faith. Certainly, one cannot claim that the expression of the true faith, transmitted and lived in the celebration of the sacraments, exhausts the totality of the richness of the mystery revealed in Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, within the limits of its formulation and of the persons who receive it, it gives access to the whole truth of the revealed faith, that is, to the fullness of salvation and life in the Holy Spirit.

(10) According to the Letter to the Hebrews, this faith is "the substance of things to be hoped for, the vision of unseen realities" (11.1). It grants a share in divine goods. It is also understood in terms of an existential confidence in the power and love of God, in acceptance of the eschatological promises as fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ. Yet, as this Letter to the Hebrews further in-

dicates, faith also requires an attitude towards the milieu of existence and the world. This attitude is marked by readiness to sacrifice one's own will and to offer one's life to God and to others as Christ did on the cross. Faith brings one into association with the witness of Christ and with "a cloud of witnesses" (12.1) which envelop the Church.

(11) Faith therefore involves a conscious and free response from the human person and a continual change of heart and spirit. Consequently, faith is an interior change and a transformation, causing one to live in the grace of the Holy Spirit who renews the human person. It seeks a reorientation towards the realities of the future kingdom which, even now, is beginning to transform the realities of this world.

(12) Faith is a presupposition of baptism and the entire sacramental life which follows it. Indeed, one participates through baptism in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Rom 6). Thus begins a process which continues all through Christian existence.

## *2. The liturgical expression of the faith*

(13) In the Church, the sacraments are the privileged place where the faith is lived, transmitted and professed. In the Byzantine liturgical tradition the first prayer for entrance into the catechumenate asks the Lord for the candidate: "Fill him/her with faith, hope and love for you that he/she may understand that you are the one true God, with your only Son our Lord Jesus Christ and your Holy Spirit." Similarly the first question the Church puts to the candidate for baptism in the Latin liturgical tradition is: "What do you ask of the Church?" and the candidate answers: "Faith." — "What does faith give you?" — "Eternal life."

(14) Our two Churches express their conviction in this matter by the axiom: "Lex orandi lex credendi." For them the liturgical tradition is an authentic interpreter of revelation and hence the criterion for the expression of the true faith. Indeed, it is in the liturgical expression of the faith of our Churches that the witness of the Fathers and of the ecumenical councils celebrated together continues to be for believers the sure guide of faith. Independent of diversity in theological expression, this witness, which itself renders explicit the "kerygma" of the holy Scriptures, is made present in the liturgical celebration. In its turn, the proclamation of the faith nourishes the liturgical prayer of the people of God.

### 3. *The Holy Spirit and the sacraments*

(15) The sacraments of the Church are “sacraments of faith” where God the Father hears the “epiklesis” (invocation) in which the Church expresses its faith by this prayer for the coming of the Spirit. In them, the Father gives his Holy Spirit who leads us into the fullness of salvation in Christ. Christ himself constitutes the Church as his Body. The Holy Spirit edifies the Church. There is no gift in the Church which cannot be attributed to the Spirit. (Basil the Great, PG 30,289). The sacraments are both gift and grace of the Holy Spirit, in Jesus Christ in the Church. This is expressed very concisely in an Orthodox hymn of Pentecost: “The Holy Spirit is the author of every gift. He makes prophecies spring forth. He renders priests perfect. He teaches wisdom to the ignorant. He makes fishermen into theologians and consolidates the institution of the Church.”

(16) Every sacrament of the Church confers the grace of the Holy Spirit because it is inseparably a sign recalling what God has accomplished in the past, a sign manifesting what he is effecting in the believer and in the Church, and a sign announcing and anticipating the eschatological fulfillment. In the sacramental celebration the Church thus manifests, illustrates, and confesses its faith in the unity of God’s design.

(17) It will be noted that all sacraments have an essential relationship to the Eucharist. The Eucharist is the proclamation of faith *par excellence* from which is derived and to which every confession is ordered. Indeed, it alone proclaims fully, in the presence of the Lord which the power of the Spirit brings about, the marvel of the divine work. For the Lord sacramentally makes his work pass into the Church’s celebration. The sacraments of the Church transmit grace, expressing and strengthening faith in Jesus Christ, and are thus witnesses of faith.

### 4. *The faith formulated and celebrated in the sacraments: the symbols of faith*

(18) In the eucharistic assembly the Church celebrates the event of the mystery of salvation in the eucharistic prayer (anaphora) for the glory of God. The mystery it celebrates is the very one which it confesses, while receiving the saving gift.

(19) Although the content and finality of this eucharistic celebration have remained the same in the local churches, they have

however used varied formulae and different languages which, according to the genius of different cultures, bring into relief particular aspects and implications of the unique salvation event. At the heart of ecclesial life, in the eucharistic "synaxis" (assembly), our two traditions, Eastern and Western, thus experience a certain diversity in the formulation of the content of the faith being celebrated.

(20) From earliest times there has been joined to the administration of baptism a formulation of faith by which the local church transmits to the catechumen the essential content of the doctrine of the apostles. This "symbol" of the faith enunciates in compact form the essentials of the apostolic tradition, articulated chiefly in the confession of faith in the Holy Trinity and in the Church. When all the local churches confess the true faith, they transmit, in the rite of baptism, this one faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, at different times and in different places, the formulation has been expressed differently as circumstances required, using terms and propositions which were not identical from one formulary to another. All, however, respected the content of faith. The Eastern Church in its baptismal rite uses the Niceo-Constantinopolitan Creed. Faithful to its own tradition, the Western Church conveys to the catechumen the text called "The Apostles' Creed." This diversity of formulae from one church to another does not in itself indicate any divergence about the content of the faith transmitted and lived.

##### *5. Conditions for communion of faith*

(21) The first condition for a true communion between the churches is that each church makes reference to the Niceo-Constantinopolitan Creed as the necessary norm of this communion of the one Church spread throughout the whole world and across the ages. In this sense the true faith is presupposed for a communion in the sacraments. Communion is possible only between those churches which have faith, priesthood, and the sacraments in common. It is because of this reciprocal recognition that the faith handed down in each local church is one and the same (as are the priesthood and the sacraments as well), that they recognize each other as genuine churches of God and that each of the faithful is welcomed by the churches as a brother or sister in the faith. At the same time, however, faith is deepened and clarified by the

ecclesial communion lived in the sacraments in each community. This ecclesial designation of faith as the fruit of sacramental life is verified at various levels of church life.

(22) In the first place, by the celebration of the sacraments, the assembly proclaims, transmits, and assimilates its faith.

(23) Furthermore, in the celebration of the sacraments, each local church expresses its profound nature. It is in continuity with the Church of the apostles and in communion with all the churches which share one and the same faith and celebrate the same sacraments. In the sacramental celebration of a local church, the other local churches recognize the identity of their faith with that church's and by that fact are strengthened in their own life of faith. Thus the celebration of the sacraments confirms the communion of faith between the churches and expresses it. This is why a member of one local church, baptized in that church, can receive the sacraments in another local church. This communion in the sacraments expresses the identity and unity of the true faith which the churches share.

(24) In the eucharistic concelebration between representatives of different local churches, identity of faith is particularly manifested and reinforced by the sacramental act itself. This is why councils, in which bishops led by the Holy Spirit express the truth of the Church's faith, are always associated with the eucharistic celebration. By proclamation of the one mystery of Christ and sharing of the one sacramental communion, the bishops, the clergy, and the whole Christian people united with them are able to witness to the faith of the Church.

#### *6. True faith and communion in the sacraments*

(25) Identity of faith, then, is an essential element of ecclesial communion in the celebration of the sacraments. However, a certain diversity in its formulation does not compromise the "koinonia" between the local churches when each church can recognize, in the variety of formulations, the one authentic faith received from the apostles.

(26) During the centuries of the undivided Church, diversity in the theological expression of a doctrine did not endanger sacramental communion. After the schism occurred, East and West continued to develop, but they did this separately from each other. Thus it was not longer possible for them to make unanimous

decisions that were valid for both of them.

(27) The Church as "pillar and bulwark of truth" (1 Tim 3.15) keeps the deposit of faith pure and unaltered while transmitting it faithfully to its members. When the authentic teaching or unity of the Church was threatened by heresy or schism, the Church, basing itself on the Bible, the living tradition, and the decisions of preceding councils, declared the correct faith authentically and infallibly in an ecumenical council.

(28) When it is established that these differences represent a rejection of earlier dogmas of the Church and are not simple differences of theological expression, then clearly one is faced with a true division about faith. It is no longer possible to have sacramental communion. For faith must be confessed in words which express the truth itself. However, the life of the Church may occasion new verbal expressions of "the faith once and for all delivered to the saints" (Jude 3), if new historical and cultural needs call for them, as long as there is an explicit desire to not change the content of the doctrine itself. In such cases, the verbal expression can become normative for unanimity in the faith. This requires criteria for judgement which allow a distinction between legitimate developments, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and other ones.

Thus:

(29) The continuity of the tradition: the Church ought to give suitable answers to new problems, answers based on the Scriptures and in accord and essential continuity with the previous expressions of dogmas.

(30) The doxological meaning of the faith: every liturgical development in one local church should be able to be seen by the others as in conformity with the mystery of salvation as it has received that mystery and celebrates it.

(31) The soteriological meaning of the faith: every expression of the faith should envision the human being's final destiny, as a child of God by grace, in his or her deification (theosis) through victory over death and in the transfiguration of creation.

(32) If a formulation of the faith contradicts any of these criteria, it becomes an obstacle to communion. If, on the other hand, such a particular formulation of the faith contradicts none of these criteria, then this formulation can be considered as a legitimate expression of faith, and does not make sacramental communion impossible.

(33) This requires that the theology of “theologoumena” be seriously considered. It is also necessary to clarify what concrete development occurring in one part of Christianity can be considered by the other as a legitimate development. Furthermore, it should be recognized that the meaning of terms has often changed in the course of time. For this reason, an effort should be made to understand every formula according to the intention of its authors so as not to introduce into it foreign elements or eliminate elements which, in the mind of the authors, were obvious.

*7. The unity of the Church in faith and sacraments*

(34) In the Church the function of ministers is above all to maintain, guarantee, and promote the growth of communion in faith and sacraments. As ministers of the sacraments and doctors of the faith, the bishops, assisted by other ministers, proclaim the faith of the Church, explain its content and its demands for Christian life, and defend it against wrong interpretations which would falsify or compromise the truth of the mystery of salvation.

(35) Charitable works of ministers, or their taking positions on the problems of a given time or place, are inseparable from the two functions of the proclamation and teaching of the faith, on the one hand, and the celebration of worship and sacraments, on the other.

(36) Thus, unity of faith within a local church and between local churches is guaranteed and judged by the bishop, who is witness to the tradition, and in communion with his people. It is inseparable from unity of sacramental life. Communion in faith and communion in the sacraments are not two distinct realities. They are two aspects of a single reality which the Holy Spirit fosters, increases, and safeguards among the faithful.

THE SACRAMENTS OF CHRISTIAN INITIATION:  
THEIR RELATION TO THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

(37) Christian initiation is a whole in which chrismation is the perfection of baptism and the Eucharist is the completion of the other two.

The unity of baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist in a single sacramental reality does not deny, however, their specific character. Thus, baptism with water and the Spirit is participation in the death

and resurrection of Christ and new birth by grace. Chrismation is the gift of the Spirit to the baptized as a personal gift. Received under the proper conditions, the Eucharist, through communion in the Body and Blood of the Lord, grants participation in the Kingdom of God, including forgiveness of sins, communion in divine life itself, and membership in the eschatological community.

(38) The history of the baptismal rites in East and West, as well as the way in which our common Fathers interpreted the doctrinal significance of the rites, shows clearly that the three sacraments of initiation form a unity. That unity is strongly affirmed by the Orthodox Church. For its part, the Catholic Church also preserves it. Thus, the new Roman ritual of initiation declares that "the three sacraments of Christian initiation are so closely united that they bring the faithful to full capability for carrying out, through the Spirit, the mission which, in the world, belongs to the entire assembly of the Christian people" (*Prenotanda Generalia*, n. 2).

(39) The pattern of administration of the sacraments which developed very early in the Church reveals how the Church understood the various stages of initiation as accomplishing, theologically and liturgically, incorporation into Christ by entering into the Church and growing in Him through communion in his Body and his Blood in this Church. All of this is effected by the same Holy Spirit who constitutes the believer as a member of the Body of the Lord.

(40) The early pattern included the following elements:

(41) For adults, a period of spiritual probation and instruction during which the catechumens were formed for their definitive incorporation into the Church;

2. baptism by the bishop assisted by his priests and deacons, or administered by priests assisted by deacons, preceded by a profession of faith and various intercessions and liturgical services;

3. confirmation or chrismation in the West by the bishop, or in the East by the priest when the bishop was absent, by means of the imposition of hands or by anointing with holy chrism, or by both.

4. The celebration of the holy Eucharist during which the newly baptized and confirmed were admitted to the full participation in the Body of Christ.



(45) These three sacraments were administered in the course of a single, complex liturgical celebration. There followed a period of further catechetical and spiritual maturation through instruction and frequent participation in the Eucharist.

(46) This pattern remains the ideal for both churches since it corresponds the most exactly possible to the appropriation of the scriptural and apostolic tradition accomplished by the early Christian churches which lived in full communion with each other.

(47) The baptism of infants, which has been practiced from the beginning, became in the Church the most usual procedure for introducing new Christians into the full life of the Church. In addition, certain local changes took place in liturgical practice in consideration of the pastoral needs of the faithful. These changes did not concern the theological understanding of the fundamental unity, in the Holy Spirit, of the whole process of Christian initiation.

(48) In the East, the temporal unity of the liturgical celebration of the three sacraments was retained, thus emphasizing the unity of the work of the Holy Spirit and the fullness of the incorporation of the child into the sacramental life of the Church.

In the West, it was often preferred to delay confirmation so as to retain contact of the baptized person with the bishop. Thus, priests were not ordinarily authorized to confirm.

(49) The essential points of the doctrine of baptism on which the two Churches are agreed are the following:

1. The necessity of baptism for salvation;
2. The effects of baptism, particularly new life in Christ and liberation from original sin;
3. Incorporation into the Church by baptism;
4. The relation of baptism to the mystery of the Trinity;
5. The essential link between baptism and the death and resurrection of the Lord;
6. The role of the Holy Spirit in baptism;
7. The necessity of water which manifests the character of baptism as the bath of new birth.

(50) On the other hand, differences concerning baptism exist between the two Churches:

1. The fact that the Catholic Church, while recognizing the primordial importance of baptism by immersion, ordinarily practices baptism by infusion;

2. The fact that in the Catholic Church a deacon can be the ordinary minister of baptism.

(51) Moreover, in certain Latin Churches, for pastoral reasons, for example in order to better prepare confirmands at the beginning of adolescence, the practice has become more common to admit to first communion baptized persons who have not yet received confirmation, even though the disciplinary directives which called for the traditional order of the sacraments of Christian initiation have never been abrogated. This inversion, which provokes objections or understandable reservations both by Orthodox and Roman Catholics, calls for deep theological and pastoral reflection because pastoral practice should never lose sight of the meaning of the early tradition and its doctrinal importance. It is also necessary to recall here that baptism conferred after the age of reason in the Latin Church is now always followed by confirmation and participation in the Eucharist.

(52) At the same time, both Churches are preoccupied with the necessity of assuring the spiritual formation of the neophyte in the faith. For that, they wish to emphasize, on the one hand, that there is a necessary connection between the sovereign action of the Spirit, who realizes through the three sacraments the full incorporation of the person into the life of the Church, the latter's response, and that of his community of faith and, on the other hand, that the full illumination of the faith is only possible when the neophyte, of whatever age, has received the sacraments of Christian initiation.

(53) Finally, it is to be recalled that the Council of Constantinople, jointly celebrated by the two Churches in 879-80, determined that each See would retain the ancient usages of its tradition, the Church of Rome preserving its own usages, the Church of Constantinople its own, and the thrones of the East also doing the same (cf. MANSI 17, 489B).

**A RESPONSE TO THE JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION  
FOR THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN  
THE ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH  
REGARDING THE BARI DOCUMENT:  
“FAITH, SACRAMENTS, AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH”**

**by the United States Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation  
June 2, 1988**

Several years ago, the official Eastern Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States established by the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops (SCOBA) and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), at its twenty-sixth meeting (May 23-25, 1983), prepared a response to the first common statement of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, namely “The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity,” the “Munich Statement (dated July 6, 1982). Our response was sent to the presiding hierarchs of the Joint Commission and was subsequently published in various theological journals.

In the United States Consultation we have followed the work of the International Commission with great interest. In fact, two of the Roman Catholic members of our own Consultation are also members of the International Commission (Msgr. Frederick McManus and Rev. John Long). At the thirty-third meeting in our series of consultations that began in 1965, we completed and submitted to the International Commission an agreed statement entitled: “Apostolicity as God’s Gift in the Life of the Church” (dated November 1, 1986). This statement was formulated especially with the future agenda of the International Consultation in mind since apostolicity is one of the themes scheduled for study at the International Commission’s future meetings.

Since the International Commission recently made public its second common statement: “Faith, Sacraments, and the Unity of the Church,” the “Bari Statement” (August 1, 1987), we in the United States Consultation have analyzed the document at several meetings and in private study. We now wish to submit to the International Commission a common response to this latest text.

We would also like to take this opportunity to encourage the

International Commission to invite theological faculties and societies, ecumenical associations, diocesan and national ecumenical commissions around the world to respond to its future statements. We also urge the Commission to distribute its texts more widely and in a more official way, with an accompanying letter by the co-chairmen situating the document. The reception and response processes will not only supply local reflections to the International Commission but also will provide opportunities to Orthodox and Roman Catholics to share their Christian faith. Given the importance of its work, the International Commission should seriously consider a future revision of its statements and their publication together for circulation to a much wider audience, perhaps with commentary.

That a second joint statement of the International Commission has been published, despite some delays and set-backs as reported in the press, is a consoling sign of the continuing graces being poured out upon our churches by the Holy Spirit. As does the Munich Statement, this text moves us farther away from our long history of mutual estrangement. We recognize that this common statement does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatment of all the theological issues on these subjects, but addresses rather issues that might hinder mutual understanding and prevent eventual full communion. We hail this achievement and unite our prayers with those of members of the Joint International Commission as they prepare to meet in June 1988 in New Valamo, Finland, to study together the theology of ordination.

Our response to the Bari Statement has two parts: first, some brief remarks regarding its methodology, and some questions for clarification; second, a list of needed corrections to the English language translation of the document made in light of a close study of the French text.

### *Part One*

(1) First of all, three preliminary remarks are necessary: (a) In our judgment, Sacred Scripture is used too sparingly in the document. Specifically, more attention should have been given to the way that "faith" is described in the New Testament; (b) We applaud the serious effort to avoid polemical or scholastic terms; (c) As was the case with the Munich text, it is not clear for what groups of readers this document is intended.

(2) Regarding the theology of faith and of communion (*koinonia*) there is much to be praised in the document. Faith is appropriately described as a “synergy between God’s grace and the human being’s liberty.” That the Church is the locus for the flowering of faith and that the Church’s faith constitutes the norm and the criterion of the personal act of faith are carefully stated (no. 5). The importance of the liturgy for nurturing faith is well described. However, the theological explanation of faith in the text is often confusing and incomplete. The term “faith” sometimes is used in such a broad way that it is seen as an equivalent for the notion of the *kerygma*, the entire Christian message, or even restrictively to a summary of religious truths that Christians include in their recitation of the symbol or creed. Often the text seems to reify faith, to reduce it to an inert deposit which needs only to be handed on (nos. 5, 14, 21, 27). Special clarification should also be given to the document’s use of the expression “true faith.”

When it is stated that “Faith embraces the totality of doctrine and church practice relating to salvation” (no. 7) this seems too comprehensive. The document is not clear when it states that “faith must be taken as a preliminary condition, already complete in itself, which precedes sacramental communion” (no. 3).

(3) Particularly successful in our judgment is the way that the local church is related to the Church universal (cf. nos. 19 and 23). This reflects a sensitive formulation of modern eucharistic ecclesiology. These sections touch on the importance of inculturation and contextualization of preaching and theology; they stress that local churches “. . . have used varied formulae and different languages which, according to the genius of different cultures, bring into relief particular aspects and implications of the unique salvation event” (no. 10). The text does not, however, take into account the fact that recent official Roman Catholic documents have favored the expression “particular church” rather than “local church” so as not to give undue prominence to the geographical factor.

(4) What is touched upon briefly in the Munich document about the relationship of faith to concrete social issues (e.g. II, 4, para. 3) is happily further strengthened in the Bari text by reference to the importance of charitable works of ministers and their response to social problems (no. 35). We would welcome continued development of these themes in future documents.

(5) There is sometimes a certain overemphasis on the role of

bishops and presbyters in the document to the neglect of the ministry of the entire people of God. In nos. 34-36 it would be well to mention the important task of theologians and the role of the entire Church in the process of reception. The bishops' teaching is not performed in isolation from the rest of the Church. Hence we applaud the clarification mentioned in no. 36 that, although the bishop is guarantor and judge of the unity of faith, he is so in communion with his people.

(6) An attempt is made in nos. 25-33 to distinguish legitimate from illegitimate developments in the Church. The text implies that this task of distinguishing between them is not difficult, whereas the history of the Church has in fact shown that the process of discernment is gradual and sometimes painful. The three criteria for distinguishing (nos. 29-31) are too vague. Is it clear that everything that meets these three criteria "can be considered a legitimate expression of faith" (no. 32)?

(7) Throughout the document, the "sovereign action of the Holy Spirit" (no. 52) is stressed, but the relationship of Son and Spirit has not been explored systematically. There are occasional echos of the very balanced formulations of the Munich statement (e.g. in the first two sentences of no. 15), but there could have been more precision elsewhere.

(8) We commend the statement's affirmation that baptism is the "beginning of a process which continues all through Christian existence" (no. 12). We also welcome the effort to relate historical changes in liturgical practice to the pastoral needs of the Church (nos. 47-49).

(9) The text places such a heavy emphasis on the eucharist as to suggest that baptism itself does not already achieve entry into divine communion and participation in the eschatological community (no. 37). Baptism should be given the due prominence which early Christian tradition accorded it.

(10) The Bari Statement appeals frequently to the authoritative witness of the liturgy (see especially no. 14). We believe, however, that greater attention to the history of the liturgy of Christian initiation would be desirable. Here we might offer two examples: (a) As the sources indicate, the primitive Eastern (e.g. Syrian) pattern of initiation was different in certain respects (e.g. in the place of anointing) from that presented as "early" and "ideal" by the statement (nos. 39, 40, 46). We believe that this pattern, suggesting

as it does a pneumatologically conditioned christology, has important implications for the relationship of Son and Spirit, a subject which we mentioned earlier in point 7 above. (b) In the early Church the bishop may indeed have presided in the baptismal liturgy, but as the historical evidence suggests, others performed many of the sacramental actions. This may have important implications for an issue raised in no. 50, point 2.

### Part Two

The English translator(s) should be commended for the use of inclusive, non-sexist language throughout.

No. 2: The French word *communement* should be translated here not as “commonly” but as “in common.”

No. 5: Correct the English “Faith is not the product of an elaboration or of a logical necessity” to read “Faith is not the product of a logical elaboration and necessity” (*La foi n’est pas le produit d’une élaboration et d’une nécessité logiques*).

No. 9: Correct the English “exists in the single Church” to read “exists in the one Church” (*dans l’unique Église*).

No. 10: Correct the English: “. . . an attitude towards the milieu of existence” to read: “regarding existence and the world” (*a l’endroit de l’existence et du monde*).

No. 14: Regarding what is said of the principle: *lex credendi lex orandi*, the English translation states that it is “*the* criterion for the expression of the true faith.” Correct to read “criterion for” without the ‘the.’ (There are other criteria!)

No. 15: Correct the English: “The Holy Spirit edifies the Church” to read “The Holy Spirit builds up the Church” (*édifie*).

No. 21: Correct: “In this sense the true faith is presupposed . . .” to read “In this sense true faith is supposed.”

Nos. 21-23: “Communion” (*koinonia*) is better translated here and throughout as “sharing” (to avoid confusion with the act of receiving the Eucharist).

Nos. 24 and 25: Because of the possible misunderstanding of the word “identity” use an alternate translation for “Identity of faith . . .” to read: “Sameness of faith . . .” (*L’identité de la foi*).

No. 28: Correct the English: “the content of the doctrine itself” to read “the very content of the doctrine” (*le contenu même de la doctrine*).

No. 29: Correct "in accord and essential continuity" to read "in essential accord and continuity" (*en accord et continuité essentielles*).

No. 37: It is better to avoid the English word "membership" because of the difficulties establishing who is and who is not a "member." Better to say "belonging to the eschatological community."

Also, avoid the expression "specific character" because of possible misunderstanding of the word "character." Better to say with the French "specificity."

Also, do not say "baptism with water and the Spirit" but rather "baptism in water and in the Spirit" to retain the biblical allusion.

No. 38: Correct: "The Catholic Church also preserves it" to read "The Catholic Church also maintains (*maintient*) that unity."

Also, as in the previous draft of the Bari statement, the citation from the new Roman Ritual of Initiation is quite inaccurate in the French and consequently the English text. The 1973 text says in no. 2: "Thus the three sacraments of Christian initiation closely combine to bring the faithful to the full stature of Christ and to enable them to carry out the mission of the entire people of God in the Church and in the world."

This is not exactly what the Bari text says. In fact it is misleading when it says "the mission which, in the world, belongs to the entire assembly. . . ."

No. 43: There is a mistake in the French original which is corrected in the English text: not "ou par l'un des deux" but rather "par les deux."

No. 50: Avoid in English the word "ordinarily" because of possible confusion with the word "ordinary" in what follows. Better to say "usually."

No. 51: Correct the misspelling in the French text: *latines* not *latine*.

No. 51: Translate "common" (*répandu*) by the English word "widespread."

Also, the French verb "rappeler" (used here in this section twice) first translated as "called for" seems inaccurate: "Disciplinary directives which *called for* the traditional order. . . ." Better to say "which recalled the traditional order. . . ." This is how the word is translated in this section.

No. 52: This section bears the marks of hurried composition.



The second sentence is almost incomprehensible (the two items being connected by the preposition “between” are not clear, probably because a word is omitted before the French word for “response”). It is suggested that this section might be rewritten as follows:

At the same time both churches are very concerned that the neophyte receive the necessary spiritual formation in the faith. Both churches share two convictions that follow: (a) that there is a vital connection between the sovereign action of the Holy Spirit effecting (by means of the three sacraments) a person’s full incorporation in the life of the Church and the response to the gift of faith by an individual believer or by the community of faith; and (b) that full illumination into the faith is possible only when the neophyte (at whatever age it happens) has received the sacraments of Christian initiation.

No. 53: The last sentence in the document appeals to Mansi 17, 489 B. In an earlier draft the text was cited verbatim but here is rather confusedly summarized. The word/translation “thrones” probably refers to “[episcopal] sees.”



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## Reviews

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*The Eucharist.* By Alexander Schmemmann. Trans. Paul Kachur. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988. Pp. 245, paper.

As the translator and editors point out, this posthumous work by Father Alexander is an unpolished text. This is obvious in the inadequacy of footnotes and citations and in the lack of an index and other scholarly apparatuses. The text is sometimes disjointed and unrepresentative of the stylistic beauty that one is accustomed to finding in Father Alexander's works — though the authors and translators acknowledge this shortcoming, too, in their prefatory remarks about the book. Despite all of these deficits, this book contains some wonderful wisdom about the Eucharist and commentaries on liturgical theology which, while I may take exception to them, are the marks of a provocative and original thinker and scholar. Particularly outstanding is the seventh chapter in this book, "The Sacrament of Unity."

As I have noted, provocative and interesting though Father Alexander's work may be, there are a number of things with which I would take exception. Firstly, the book is written in the critical style of one examining the Liturgy as a mere historical phenomenon. There are copious comments about its development and transformation involving a deviation from the ideals and views of the primitive Church. This is, of course, vogue now, as the Orthodox Church enters into the spirit of liturgical reform that marked the Latin Church in the sixties. Rather than seek out and find pastoral or spiritual reasons for the development of the liturgical rubrics, rather than attribute to change a certain action of the Holy Spirit, this book sets forth its criticism in the spirit of renovation — albeit in the name of a return to the ancient. But despite this critical

spirit, Father Alexander's emerging theme throughout the book is that the Liturgy, tied as it is to the divine, is permeated by the attributes of that divinity. Arguing so persuasively against a mystical understanding of the Liturgy, he leads one, in some of his beautiful and inspiring remarks, to that very mystagogy which is the Liturgy.

Let me illustrate this point with a reference to Father Alexander's treatment of the kiss of peace in the Divine Liturgy (pp. 133 ff.). He decries the fact that the exhortation that we "love one another," which precedes the kiss of peace, is now no longer an "action," but an "exclamation." In the spirit of liturgical reform that led to the insipid "hand-shake" in the current Latin mass, he subtly calls for the return of an exchange of congregational love by the removal of the kiss of peace from the altar and its restoration among the people. Indeed, from a pastoral sense, I believe that the representative kiss of peace between the clergy was taken from the congregation as an act of propriety. Removed from the zeal of the early Church, how many of us today, *en masse*, really understand such an exchange with the purity of those who awaited virtual martyrdom for their faith? This notion Father Alexander rejects. Yet, within the course of his commentary, he admits that liturgical exclamation is itself a form of worship, lifting up words into action, unifying the word and the spirit.

Secondly, one might rightly observe that the current emphasis in liturgical scholarship on the "Sacrament of the Word," the "Sacrament of Offering," etc. (and each chapter of the book concerns the "Sacrament" of some aspect of worship) is so manifestly imitative of the Latin "revolution" in liturgical studies that followed Second Vatican as to be embarrassing. We Orthodox should be capable of something a bit deeper than mere imitation, especially when we reflect on where such renovationist "scholarship" has led the Roman Catholic Church. Search as one might in the Patristic texts, there is little emphasis on a spirit which would transform the vivifying mystery of the Eucharist into a sacrament of this or that "catch-word" concept. But again here, it must be noted, that despite the "trendy" language, Father Alexander makes some observations about the life of the mysteries that show a richness of Patristic knowledge.

Lacking spiritual sobriety, as we do today, we often approach the works of our outstanding Orthodox scholars with undue awe

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mutual recognition of Baptism. While the commissioners can, in fact, affirm a number of points of essential agreement on the doctrine of Baptism, they are not prepared to publicly affirm jointly the recognition of each other's Sacraments of Initiation. Given the fact that the International Commission is at the beginning stages of its development and the fact that further study of certain questions is desirable, it may be too much too soon to expect such an affirmation. It should be noted, however, that the American Consultation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians in 1984 did in fact recommend that both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church "explore the possibility of a formal recognition of each other's Baptism as a sacrament of our unity in the body of Christ, although we acknowledge that any such recognition is conditioned by other factors." It would seem that this recommendation should not go unheeded by the International Commission.

The Bari Statement ends rather abruptly with an affirmation which is significant and, regretfully, quite underdeveloped. The commissioners conclude with a reference to a statement from the Council of Constantinople, 879-80. This reference is significant for two major reasons. Firstly, although this council considered itself to be 'Ecumenical,' it has not as yet been formally recognized as such by both Churches. The Roman Catholic Church recognizes an earlier assembly of bishops in 869 at Constantinople to be its Eighth Ecumenical Council. History would seem to indicate, however, that the Council of 879 may have greater justification for being so designated by both Churches. Indeed, this may be a topic which both Churches might wish to study jointly.

Secondly, the commissioners remind us of the observation of the fathers of that Council that "each see would retain the ancient usages of its tradition, the Church of Rome preserving its usages, the Church of Constantinople its own, and the thrones of the East also doing the same." This observation is truly an important one because it raises the whole question of the legitimate diversity of customs and liturgical traditions. As the fathers of the Council of Constantinople wisely affirmed, each local church is entitled to maintain its own particular traditions. Simply stated, unity in faith does not require conformity in traditions. It would appear that this principle is one which certainly deserves greater attention in the dialogue between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

A very valuable response to the Bari Statement is the one produced by the Orthodox-Roman Catholic Consultation in the United States at its meeting of May 31-June 2, 1988. The statement reflects discussion undertaken at that meeting of the consultation as well as at the previous meeting of October 29-31, 1987.

The American Consultation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians was established in 1965 by the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Presiding at the meetings which produced the response were Bishop Maximos of the Greek Orthodox Diocese of Pittsburgh (Ecumenical Patriarchate) and Bishop Arthur O'Neill of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Rockford, Illinois. The American Consultation has published eleven Agreed Statements. The most recent was "Apostolicity as God's Gift in the Life of the Church."

The response to the Bari Statement by the American Consultation has two parts. The first is a generally positive assessment of the Bari Statement which recognizes the need for greater precision in places. The second part is devoted to technical corrections of the text in its English translation. This is offered with the conviction that the Bari Statement deserves greater circulation in an English version which more accurately reflects the original French and Greek texts.

Despite the limitations inherent in such a process, nonetheless the significance of the statements issued by the International Orthodox-Roman Catholic Theological Consultation cannot be underestimated. The work of the Commission deserves greater attention both from theologians and from those involved directly with the pastoral care of the faithful in both Churches.

# THE JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THEOLOGICAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

## FAITH, SACRAMENTS AND THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

### *Introduction*

(1) After our meeting in Munich in 1982 and in accord with the *Plan* adopted by our commission during its first meeting at Rhodes in 1980, this fourth session of the commission has undertaken to consider the question of the relation between faith and sacramental communion.

(2) As was stated in the *Plan* of our dialogue, which was approved at Rhodes, unity in faith is a presupposition for unity in the sacraments, and especially in the Holy Eucharist. But this commonly accepted principle raises some fundamental issues which require consideration. Does faith amount to adhering to formulas or is it also something else? Faith, which is a divine gift, should be understood as a commitment of the Christian, a commitment of mind, heart, and will. In its profound reality it is also an *ecclesial* event which is realized and accomplished in and through the communion of the Church, in its liturgical and especially in its eucharistic expression. This ecclesial and liturgical character of the faith must be taken seriously into consideration.

(3) Given this fundamental character of faith, it is necessary to affirm that faith must be taken as a preliminary condition, already complete in itself, which precedes sacramental communion; and also that it is increased by sacramental communion, which is the expression of the very life of the Church and the means of the spiritual growth of each of its members. This question has to be raised in order to avoid a deficient approach to the problem of faith as a condition for unity. It should not, however, serve to obscure the fact that faith *is* such a condition, and that there cannot be sacramental communion without communion in faith both in the broader sense and in the sense of dogmatic formulation.

(4) In addition to the question of faith as a presupposition of sacramental communion and in close connection with it, following the *Plan* of the dialogue, we have also considered in our meetings the relation of what are called sacraments of initiation, — i.e. baptism, confirmation or chrismation and Eucharist, — to each



other and to the unity of the Church. At this point it is necessary to examine if our two Churches are confronted simply with a difference in liturgical practice or also in doctrine, since liturgical practice and doctrine are linked to one another. Should we consider these three sacraments as belonging to one sacramental reality or as three autonomous sacramental acts? It should also be asked if for the sacraments of initiation a difference in liturgical practice between the two traditions raises a problem of doctrinal divergence, which could be considered a serious obstacle to unity.

#### FAITH AND COMMUNION IN THE SACRAMENTS

Faith is inseparably both the gift of God who reveals himself and the response of the human person who receives this gift. This is the synergy of the grace of God and human freedom. The locus of this communion is the Church. In the Church, revealed truth is transmitted according to the tradition of the apostles based on the Scriptures, by means of the ecumenical councils, liturgical life, and the Fathers of the Church; and is put into practice by the members of the Body of Christ. The faith of the Church constitutes the norm and the criterion of the personal act of faith. Faith is not the product of an elaboration or of a logical necessity, but of the influence of the grace of the Holy Spirit. The Apostle Paul received grace "in the obedience of faith" (Rom 1.5). Saint Basil says on this subject: "Faith precedes discourse about God; faith and not demonstration. Faith which is above logical methods leads to consent. Faith is born not of geometric necessities, but of the energies of the Spirit" (In Ps 115.1).

(6) Every sacrament presupposes and expresses the faith of the Church which celebrates it. Indeed, in a sacrament the Church does more than profess and express its faith: it makes present the mystery it is celebrating. The Holy Spirit reveals the Church as the Body of Christ which he constitutes and makes grow. Thus the Church nourishes and develops the communion of the faith of its members through the sacraments.

*1. True faith is a divine gift and free response of the human person.*

(7) Faith is a gift of the Holy Spirit. Through faith God grants salvation. Through it, humanity has access to the mystery of Christ who constitutes the Church and whom the Church communicates

through the Holy Spirit who dwells in it. The Church can only transmit what causes it to exist. Now, there is only one mystery of Christ and God's gift is unique, whole and irrevocable (Rom 11.29). As for its content, faith embraces the totality of doctrine and church practice relating to salvation. Dogma, conduct and liturgical life overlap each other to form a single whole and together constitute the treasure of faith. Linking in a remarkable fashion the theoretical and practical character of faith, Saint John Damascene says: "This [faith] is made perfect by all that Christ decreed, faith through works, respect for and practice of the commandments of the One who has renewed us. Indeed, the one who does not believe according to the tradition of the Catholic Church or who by unseemly works is in communion with the devil, is an infidel" (*De fide orthodoxa* 4,10,83).

(8) Given by God, the faith announced by the Church is proclaimed, lived and transmitted in a local, visible church in communion with all the local churches spread over the world, that is, the catholic Church of all times and everywhere. The human person is integrated into the Body of Christ by his or her "koinônia" (communion) with this visible church which nourishes this faith by means of the sacramental life and the word of God, and in which the Holy Spirit works in the human person.

(9) One can say that, in this way, the gift of faith exists in the single church in its concrete historical situation, determined by the environment and the times, and therefore in each and all of the believers under the guidance of their pastors. In human language and in a variety of cultural and historical expressions, the human person must always remain faithful to this gift of faith. Certainly, one cannot claim that the expression of the true faith, transmitted and lived in the celebration of the sacraments, exhausts the totality of the richness of the mystery revealed in Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, within the limits of its formulation and of the persons who receive it, it gives access to the whole truth of the revealed faith, that is, to the fullness of salvation and life in the Holy Spirit.

(10) According to the Letter to the Hebrews, this faith is "the substance of things to be hoped for, the vision of unseen realities" (11.1). It grants a share in divine goods. It is also understood in terms of an existential confidence in the power and love of God, in acceptance of the eschatological promises as fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ. Yet, as this Letter to the Hebrews further in-

dicates, faith also requires an attitude towards the milieu of existence and the world. This attitude is marked by readiness to sacrifice one's own will and to offer one's life to God and to others as Christ did on the cross. Faith brings one into association with the witness of Christ and with "a cloud of witnesses" (12.1) which envelop the Church.

(11) Faith therefore involves a conscious and free response from the human person and a continual change of heart and spirit. Consequently, faith is an interior change and a transformation, causing one to live in the grace of the Holy Spirit who renews the human person. It seeks a reorientation towards the realities of the future kingdom which, even now, is beginning to transform the realities of this world.

(12) Faith is a presupposition of baptism and the entire sacramental life which follows it. Indeed, one participates through baptism in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Rom 6). Thus begins a process which continues all through Christian existence.

## *2. The liturgical expression of the faith*

(13) In the Church, the sacraments are the privileged place where the faith is lived, transmitted and professed. In the Byzantine liturgical tradition the first prayer for entrance into the catechumenate asks the Lord for the candidate: "Fill him/her with faith, hope and love for you that he/she may understand that you are the one true God, with your only Son our Lord Jesus Christ and your Holy Spirit." Similarly the first question the Church puts to the candidate for baptism in the Latin liturgical tradition is: "What do you ask of the Church?" and the candidate answers: "Faith." — "What does faith give you?" — "Eternal life."

(14) Our two Churches express their conviction in this matter by the axiom: "Lex orandi lex credendi." For them the liturgical tradition is an authentic interpreter of revelation and hence the criterion for the expression of the true faith. Indeed, it is in the liturgical expression of the faith of our Churches that the witness of the Fathers and of the ecumenical councils celebrated together continues to be for believers the sure guide of faith. Independent of diversity in theological expression, this witness, which itself renders explicit the "kerygma" of the holy Scriptures, is made present in the liturgical celebration. In its turn, the proclamation of the faith nourishes the liturgical prayer of the people of God.

### 3. *The Holy Spirit and the sacraments*

(15) The sacraments of the Church are "sacraments of faith" where God the Father hears the "epiklesis" (invocation) in which the Church expresses its faith by this prayer for the coming of the Spirit. In them, the Father gives his Holy Spirit who leads us into the fullness of salvation in Christ. Christ himself constitutes the Church as his Body. The Holy Spirit edifies the Church. There is no gift in the Church which cannot be attributed to the Spirit. (Basil the Great, PG 30,289). The sacraments are both gift and grace of the Holy Spirit, in Jesus Christ in the Church. This is expressed very concisely in an Orthodox hymn of Pentecost: "The Holy Spirit is the author of every gift. He makes prophecies spring forth. He renders priests perfect. He teaches wisdom to the ignorant. He makes fishermen into theologians and consolidates the institution of the Church."

(16) Every sacrament of the Church confers the grace of the Holy Spirit because it is inseparably a sign recalling what God has accomplished in the past, a sign manifesting what he is effecting in the believer and in the Church, and a sign announcing and anticipating the eschatological fulfillment. In the sacramental celebration the Church thus manifests, illustrates, and confesses its faith in the unity of God's design.

(17) It will be noted that all sacraments have an essential relationship to the Eucharist. The Eucharist is the proclamation of faith *par excellence* from which is derived and to which every confession is ordered. Indeed, it alone proclaims fully, in the presence of the Lord which the power of the Spirit brings about, the marvel of the divine work. For the Lord sacramentally makes his work pass into the Church's celebration. The sacraments of the Church transmit grace, expressing and strengthening faith in Jesus Christ, and are thus witnesses of faith.

### 4. *The faith formulated and celebrated in the sacraments: the symbols of faith*

(18) In the eucharistic assembly the Church celebrates the event of the mystery of salvation in the eucharistic prayer (anaphora) for the glory of God. The mystery it celebrates is the very one which it confesses, while receiving the saving gift.

(19) Although the content and finality of this eucharistic celebration have remained the same in the local churches, they have

however used varied formulae and different languages which, according to the genius of different cultures, bring into relief particular aspects and implications of the unique salvation event. At the heart of ecclesial life, in the eucharistic "synaxis" (assembly), our two traditions, Eastern and Western, thus experience a certain diversity in the formulation of the content of the faith being celebrated.

(20) From earliest times there has been joined to the administration of baptism a formulation of faith by which the local church transmits to the catechumen the essential content of the doctrine of the apostles. This "symbol" of the faith enunciates in compact form the essentials of the apostolic tradition, articulated chiefly in the confession of faith in the Holy Trinity and in the Church. When all the local churches confess the true faith, they transmit, in the rite of baptism, this one faith in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, at different times and in different places, the formulation has been expressed differently as circumstances required, using terms and propositions which were not identical from one formulary to another. All, however, respected the content of faith. The Eastern Church in its baptismal rite uses the Niceo-Constantinopolitan Creed. Faithful to its own tradition, the Western Church conveys to the catechumen the text called "The Apostles' Creed." This diversity of formulae from one church to another does not in itself indicate any divergence about the content of the faith transmitted and lived.

##### *5. Conditions for communion of faith*

(21) The first condition for a true communion between the churches is that each church makes reference to the Niceo-Constantinopolitan Creed as the necessary norm of this communion of the one Church spread throughout the whole world and across the ages. In this sense the true faith is presupposed for a communion in the sacraments. Communion is possible only between those churches which have faith, priesthood, and the sacraments in common. It is because of this reciprocal recognition that the faith handed down in each local church is one and the same (as are the priesthood and the sacraments as well), that they recognize each other as genuine churches of God and that each of the faithful is welcomed by the churches as a brother or sister in the faith. At the same time, however, faith is deepened and clarified by the

ecclesial communion lived in the sacraments in each community. This ecclesial designation of faith as the fruit of sacramental life is verified at various levels of church life.

(22) In the first place, by the celebration of the sacraments, the assembly proclaims, transmits, and assimilates its faith.

(23) Furthermore, in the celebration of the sacraments, each local church expresses its profound nature. It is in continuity with the Church of the apostles and in communion with all the churches which share one and the same faith and celebrate the same sacraments. In the sacramental celebration of a local church, the other local churches recognize the identity of their faith with that church's and by that fact are strengthened in their own life of faith. Thus the celebration of the sacraments confirms the communion of faith between the churches and expresses it. This is why a member of one local church, baptized in that church, can receive the sacraments in another local church. This communion in the sacraments expresses the identity and unity of the true faith which the churches share.

(24) In the eucharistic concelebration between representatives of different local churches, identity of faith is particularly manifested and reinforced by the sacramental act itself. This is why councils, in which bishops led by the Holy Spirit express the truth of the Church's faith, are always associated with the eucharistic celebration. By proclamation of the one mystery of Christ and sharing of the one sacramental communion, the bishops, the clergy, and the whole Christian people united with them are able to witness to the faith of the Church.

#### *6. True faith and communion in the sacraments*

(25) Identity of faith, then, is an essential element of ecclesial communion in the celebration of the sacraments. However, a certain diversity in its formulation does not compromise the "koinonia" between the local churches when each church can recognize, in the variety of formulations, the one authentic faith received from the apostles.

(26) During the centuries of the undivided Church, diversity in the theological expression of a doctrine did not endanger sacramental communion. After the schism occurred, East and West continued to develop, but they did this separately from each other. Thus it was not longer possible for them to make unanimous

decisions that were valid for both of them.

(27) The Church as "pillar and bulwark of truth" (1 Tim 3.15) keeps the deposit of faith pure and unaltered while transmitting it faithfully to its members. When the authentic teaching or unity of the Church was threatened by heresy or schism, the Church, basing itself on the Bible, the living tradition, and the decisions of preceding councils, declared the correct faith authentically and infallibly in an ecumenical council.

(28) When it is established that these differences represent a rejection of earlier dogmas of the Church and are not simple differences of theological expression, then clearly one is faced with a true division about faith. It is no longer possible to have sacramental communion. For faith must be confessed in words which express the truth itself. However, the life of the Church may occasion new verbal expressions of "the faith once and for all delivered to the saints" (Jude 3), if new historical and cultural needs call for them, as long as there is an explicit desire to not change the content of the doctrine itself. In such cases, the verbal expression can become normative for unanimity in the faith. This requires criteria for judgement which allow a distinction between legitimate developments, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and other ones.

Thus:

(29) The continuity of the tradition: the Church ought to give suitable answers to new problems, answers based on the Scriptures and in accord and essential continuity with the previous expressions of dogmas.

(30) The doxological meaning of the faith: every liturgical development in one local church should be able to be seen by the others as in conformity with the mystery of salvation as it has received that mystery and celebrates it.

(31) The soteriological meaning of the faith: every expression of the faith should envision the human being's final destiny, as a child of God by grace, in his or her deification (theosis) through victory over death and in the transfiguration of creation.

(32) If a formulation of the faith contradicts any of these criteria, it becomes an obstacle to communion. If, on the other hand, such a particular formulation of the faith contradicts none of these criteria, then this formulation can be considered as a legitimate expression of faith, and does not make sacramental communion impossible.

(33) This requires that the theology of “theologoumena” be seriously considered. It is also necessary to clarify what concrete development occurring in one part of Christianity can be considered by the other as a legitimate development. Furthermore, it should be recognized that the meaning of terms has often changed in the course of time. For this reason, an effort should be made to understand every formula according to the intention of its authors so as not to introduce into it foreign elements or eliminate elements which, in the mind of the authors, were obvious.

*7. The unity of the Church in faith and sacraments*

(34) In the Church the function of ministers is above all to maintain, guarantee, and promote the growth of communion in faith and sacraments. As ministers of the sacraments and doctors of the faith, the bishops, assisted by other ministers, proclaim the faith of the Church, explain its content and its demands for Christian life, and defend it against wrong interpretations which would falsify or compromise the truth of the mystery of salvation.

(35) Charitable works of ministers, or their taking positions on the problems of a given time or place, are inseparable from the two functions of the proclamation and teaching of the faith, on the one hand, and the celebration of worship and sacraments, on the other.

(36) Thus, unity of faith within a local church and between local churches is guaranteed and judged by the bishop, who is witness to the tradition, and in communion with his people. It is inseparable from unity of sacramental life. Communion in faith and communion in the sacraments are not two distinct realities. They are two aspects of a single reality which the Holy Spirit fosters, increases, and safeguards among the faithful.

THE SACRAMENTS OF CHRISTIAN INITIATION:  
THEIR RELATION TO THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

(37) Christian initiation is a whole in which chrismation is the perfection of baptism and the Eucharist is the completion of the other two.

The unity of baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist in a single sacramental reality does not deny, however, their specific character. Thus, baptism with water and the Spirit is participation in the death



and resurrection of Christ and new birth by grace. Chrismation is the gift of the Spirit to the baptized as a personal gift. Received under the proper conditions, the Eucharist, through communion in the Body and Blood of the Lord, grants participation in the Kingdom of God, including forgiveness of sins, communion in divine life itself, and membership in the eschatological community.

(38) The history of the baptismal rites in East and West, as well as the way in which our common Fathers interpreted the doctrinal significance of the rites, shows clearly that the three sacraments of initiation form a unity. That unity is strongly affirmed by the Orthodox Church. For its part, the Catholic Church also preserves it. Thus, the new Roman ritual of initiation declares that "the three sacraments of Christian initiation are so closely united that they bring the faithful to full capability for carrying out, through the Spirit, the mission which, in the world, belongs to the entire assembly of the Christian people" (*Prenotanda Generalia*, n. 2).

(39) The pattern of administration of the sacraments which developed very early in the Church reveals how the Church understood the various stages of initiation as accomplishing, theologically and liturgically, incorporation into Christ by entering into the Church and growing in Him through communion in his Body and his Blood in this Church. All of this is effected by the same Holy Spirit who constitutes the believer as a member of the Body of the Lord.

(40) The early pattern included the following elements:

(41) For adults, a period of spiritual probation and instruction during which the catechumens were formed for their definitive incorporation into the Church;

2. baptism by the bishop assisted by his priests and deacons, or administered by priests assisted by deacons, preceded by a profession of faith and various intercessions and liturgical services;

3. confirmation or chrismation in the West by the bishop, or in the East by the priest when the bishop was absent, by means of the imposition of hands or by anointing with holy chrism, or by both.

4. The celebration of the holy Eucharist during which the newly baptized and confirmed were admitted to the full participation in the Body of Christ.

(45) These three sacraments were administered in the course of a single, complex liturgical celebration. There followed a period of further catechetical and spiritual maturation through instruction and frequent participation in the Eucharist.

(46) This pattern remains the ideal for both churches since it corresponds the most exactly possible to the appropriation of the scriptural and apostolic tradition accomplished by the early Christian churches which lived in full communion with each other.

(47) The baptism of infants, which has been practiced from the beginning, became in the Church the most usual procedure for introducing new Christians into the full life of the Church. In addition, certain local changes took place in liturgical practice in consideration of the pastoral needs of the faithful. These changes did not concern the theological understanding of the fundamental unity, in the Holy Spirit, of the whole process of Christian initiation.

(48) In the East, the temporal unity of the liturgical celebration of the three sacraments was retained, thus emphasizing the unity of the work of the Holy Spirit and the fullness of the incorporation of the child into the sacramental life of the Church.

In the West, it was often preferred to delay confirmation so as to retain contact of the baptized person with the bishop. Thus, priests were not ordinarily authorized to confirm.

(49) The essential points of the doctrine of baptism on which the two Churches are agreed are the following:

1. The necessity of baptism for salvation;
2. The effects of baptism, particularly new life in Christ and liberation from original sin;
3. Incorporation into the Church by baptism;
4. The relation of baptism to the mystery of the Trinity;
5. The essential link between baptism and the death and resurrection of the Lord;
6. The role of the Holy Spirit in baptism;
7. The necessity of water which manifests the character of baptism as the bath of new birth.

(50) On the other hand, differences concerning baptism exist between the two Churches:

1. The fact that the Catholic Church, while recognizing the primordial importance of baptism by immersion, ordinarily practices baptism by infusion;

2. The fact that in the Catholic Church a deacon can be the ordinary minister of baptism.

(51) Moreover, in certain Latin Churches, for pastoral reasons, for example in order to better prepare confirmands at the beginning of adolescence, the practice has become more common to admit to first communion baptized persons who have not yet received confirmation, even though the disciplinary directives which called for the traditional order of the sacraments of Christian initiation have never been abrogated. This inversion, which provokes objections or understandable reservations both by Orthodox and Roman Catholics, calls for deep theological and pastoral reflection because pastoral practice should never lose sight of the meaning of the early tradition and its doctrinal importance. It is also necessary to recall here that baptism conferred after the age of reason in the Latin Church is now always followed by confirmation and participation in the Eucharist.

(52) At the same time, both Churches are preoccupied with the necessity of assuring the spiritual formation of the neophyte in the faith. For that, they wish to emphasize, on the one hand, that there is a necessary connection between the sovereign action of the Spirit, who realizes through the three sacraments the full incorporation of the person into the life of the Church, the latter's response, and that of his community of faith and, on the other hand, that the full illumination of the faith is only possible when the neophyte, of whatever age, has received the sacraments of Christian initiation.

(53) Finally, it is to be recalled that the Council of Constantinople, jointly celebrated by the two Churches in 879-80, determined that each See would retain the ancient usages of its tradition, the Church of Rome preserving its own usages, the Church of Constantinople its own, and the thrones of the East also doing the same (cf. MANSI 17, 489B).

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## “Final Report” on Orthodox Perspectives on Justice and Peace

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### INTRA-ORTHODOX CONSULTATION

Minsk, U.S.S.R., 4 - 12 May, 1989

PARTICIPANTS FROM VARIOUS ORTHODOX CHURCHES FROM AROUND the world have gathered in the beautiful city of Minsk, capital of the Byelorussian Republic of the USSR, precisely at a time when the people of this great land remembered, on the 9th of May, the 44th anniversary of the end of the involvement of the USSR in World War II, which is referred to here as “The Great Patriotic War” (see appendix). Our meeting also takes place at a time of significant renewal in the political, social, civic, economic and religious structuring of the USSR. These observances and the clear spirit of anticipation for a better future serve as an appropriate background for our reflection and deliberation on the inseparable issues of justice and peace in the world. We have come here to consciously reflect as Orthodox Christians on these burning issues from out of the long heritage of faith and tradition of our Church. We anticipate contributing not only to the World Council of Churches’ World Convocation on “Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation” which will take place in Seoul, South Korea, 6-12 March, 1990, but also to speak to our fellow Christians and our Orthodox Churches throughout the world, so as to encourage their own responsible spiritual and practical involvement in the issues of justice and peace in our day and for the future of all of humankind. We reflect on these matters having before us the results of the Third Pre-conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference which took place in Chambésy, Switzerland, 28 October - 6 November, 1986.

## A. The World Searching for Justice and Peace

1. In each age and time of our troubled human history, the issues of justice and peace have been experienced by peoples in their own concrete situations. Ours repeats that pattern, with the added dimension that all peoples of the earth now face those questions in common. We have consciously come to understand that we are all part of one world in which all peoples, nations, cultures and traditions are inextricably inter-connected. As we survey our world, we are conscious of the wide-ranging expressions of injustice and the threat to peace to be found among us.

2. At every step in our lives today we are faced with manifestations of injustice. Some of these signs are blatantly and directly threatening humanity and others are leading gradually to the potential destruction of God's creation. Among the many concerns we have as we survey our condition on the threshold of the twenty-first century, we note some representative anxieties for the future of our planet and the peoples who live upon it, as a result of injustices which are being perpetrated today and their threats to genuine peace among us.

*The Unjust Treatment of Planet Earth*

3. The irresponsible and unreflecting misuse of natural resources is creating a condition we have come to identify as the "hot house effect" upon the earth. This consists in part of the warming up of the earth's atmosphere, the thinning of the ozone layer and the increase of radiation. Connected to this are other irresponsible and unjust activities which had led to deforestation and desertification of huge areas, related to the depletion of the rain forests and many non-renewable resources. All of these and other consequences arise from the unjust treatment of the planet by human beings. It is the result of the misuse of the wisdom gained through scientific research and technological advancement. These human accomplishments in many areas bring to us mixed blessings. For example, while genetic engineering and advances in biotechnology may be considered a blessing in therapeutic practices in medicine, they are also potential manifestations of injustice because of the threat which they pose as they are used to produce mutations in the world.

*Injustice in Military Over-Emphasis*

4. While we see some encouraging steps being taken among the nations of the earth in the area of the limitations of armaments, we note that nations continue to allocate a major percent of their national budgets to arms production in the name of national security or defense. The phenomenon of the arms race and the exaggerated sale of arms continue to be imposed upon third world nations. Illustrative is the reported information that in some developing countries there is one physician for 3,700 people, but one soldier for every 250 citizens.

5. Another problem, specific to the Church, is the dilemma presented by the phenomenon of Christian participation in war. The Orthodox Church unreservedly condemns war as an evil. Yet, it also recognizes that in the defense of the innocent and the protection of one's populous from unjust attack and from criminal activity, as well as for the overthrowing of oppression, it is sometimes necessary, yet with reluctance, to resort to arms. In every case, such a decision is to be taken with the full consciousness of its tragic dimensions. Consequently, the Greek Fathers of the Church never developed a "just war theory," preferring rather to speak of the blessings and the preference for peace.

*Economic Injustice*

6. Injustices tend to be interconnected, in that the two preceding examples have led many of the nations of the world together with their peoples into new forms of economic injustice. Today's international debt crisis is the result of bad resource management in both developing and developed countries. Misdirected enthusiasm and misguided efforts in development planning in the seventies left the world today with the following reality: 70% of the world's population still seeks to survive on 30% of the world's production, while 30% of the world's population consumes 70% of its production. The gap between the per capita income of very poor countries and rich countries is in the proportion of one to sixty. The world is marked by an unjust distribution of goods and, more importantly, by an unjust distribution of power.

7. In like manner, evidence indicates that in many nations, both poor and rich, the concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer persons results in the increase of poverty for more and more persons. The existence of the widening gap between the rich

and the poor is highlighted by the following demographic trends: high infant mortality and shorter life expectancy. Many people in the third world countries are deprived of basic human needs such as the lack of adequate health services, proper housing, clothing, sufficient food, and educational opportunities. In short, they lack the bare minimum for survival. While indebtedness was not the choice made by the common citizenry in any given country, in all these countries the common people are being made to suffer so as to enable their respective governments to repay their debts.

*Injustice and the Institutions of Social Life*

8. These threats are raising human and social problems which are further increasing the burden of injustice on society. A critical example is the family. This important social institution and basis of social stability and human well-being in society is weakening. In many industrialized societies broken families have become a common phenomenon and in the third world societies, the extended family is gradually being replaced by the nuclear family. Alienation, alcoholism, drugs, street children, child abuse, widespread abortion, are blatant manifestations of this brokenness of our societies, due to economic and systematic causes. These new patterns in social living are ascribing new roles to men and women. Women are participating in social, economic, political and educational spheres of life. Yet, certain traditions continue to discriminate against women and their full participation in the life of the churches and in society at large.

9. Injustice is also manifested within and among nations and societies against peoples because of their race, color, creed, ethnic identity and cultures. Great numbers of people continue to suffer displacement and to live as refugees, some even within their own homelands, such as the Palestinian people. Economic and political injustice as well as various kinds of prejudice have led to the mass uprooting of people, causing migrations with all their negative consequences for personal, family and social life of these fellow human beings. We note as well that the communications media in one aspect of their expansion, through the quick dissemination of information and images, are bringing people together, thus pointing to our shared destiny as one world. But it is also disseminating concurrently much that is threatening basic human values.

10. In all of this, human rights are repeatedly being disregarded



in many places throughout the world. As believers we are especially concerned with religious rights. Religious persecution and intolerance has not disappeared from among us, in spite of decades of ecumenical activity and concern, and in some places it has been virulently oppressive. In some situations, the obtaining of elementary religious education is made difficult or impossible.

11. In conjunction with this, the phenomenon of proselytism among Christians is a sad witness to the world, which in practice betrays our words of brotherhood and peace. As Orthodox, in particular, we have suffered much from proselytism in its many forms in the past, including the uniate phenomenon. Today, we note that the plague of proselytism continues in such places as the Middle East and Ethiopia, especially in the midst of crisis situations. An example of this behavior was how relief efforts after the recent Armenian earthquake were used by some to proselytize the Armenian Orthodox Christians to abandon their Church.

12. Over all of these continues to hang the threat of nuclear war and destruction. Demonic forces pervade and often seem to control the destiny of our earth and all the people seeking to live their lives upon it. Injustice and the ongoing threats to peace provoke from all of humanity and from the earth itself, cries for healing and restoration. In response, we turn to our faith as believing Orthodox Christians for wisdom, guidance and salvation.

### B. The Response of Faith in the Face of Injustice and Threats to Peace

13. As Orthodox Christian believers, our most precious resource in the face of such terrible problems is the awareness of God's active love and presence in history for the salvation of the world. This is communicated to us in the revelation of God as it is experienced in the life of the Church. Space does not permit us to plumb the vast resources of Holy Tradition in order to explicate all of its potential relevancy to the issues of injustice and justice, and the demand for peace in the hearts of all right-thinking persons and nations. The experience of the saving presence of God's love for us, his creatures, has provided us with understandings, which theologically have been articulated in the teaching, creeds and affirmations of faith in the Church. Of these many resources for insight in the face of injustice and the threats to peace, we lift

up for the attention of all, these few affirmations.

14. In the Orthodox perspective the created world is the work of the Triune God. The original status of the creation expressed a communion and harmony (the biblical peace, *shalom*) in process of fulfillment, which finds its ground in the perfect personal relationship among Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

15. The Old and the New Testament are records of the revelation that humankind is sick in the center of its personal existence. Through sin, which is the loss of illumination or glorification, which is alienation from God, the "heart" has been "darkened" (Rom 1.21). Thinking this state to be normal for their lives, human beings have come to make God in their own fallen or sick image. The heart is the primary organ of communion with God, which makes human beings both free of the environment and yet active participants in the environment. The disruption of this communion with God causes the heart to become dominated by and enslaved to the environment by means of its confusion with the thoughts of its own intellect, giving rise to self-centered love, injustice and aggression in relation to others. Herein is the root cause of idolatry, injustice, exploitation and belligerence in humanity and the lack of peace among human beings.

16. For the Orthodox Church, the restoration of justice and peace cannot be measured by merely human standards, but by the divine-human standard of Jesus Christ, who is at the heart of the "good news" to the fallen world. The Christological standard rests upon the union of the divine and the human in the one person of Jesus Christ and upon his victory over death, sin and evil through his resurrection which followed his own unjust suffering and crucifixion. This unique event of the just God becoming a just man in the midst of an unjust humanity, and his condescension to suffer unjustly in the hands of the unjust for their salvation is for us a profound basis not only for the understanding of justice, but also for our solidarity with all those who suffer injustice.

17. Through his death, Christ has destroyed in principle the power of sin and death, which are the primary causes of injustice, and through his resurrection, Christ has made eternal peace between God and humanity, among human beings, as well as with the created world itself. This is the "new creation."

18. In the person of the Christian, this restoration of justice and peace is the liberation of the human heart by its purification

from all thoughts, both good and bad, so that it may be filled with the prayer of the Holy Spirit. This process allows it to regain full communion with God. This communion of the human with the divine is the beginning of the restoration of justice and peace, which are gifts of God to us, leading to the transformation of selfish love into selfless love. This is our participation in the mystery of the Cross and the Resurrection of Christ.

19. Participation in the mystery of the Cross is perfected by glorification, which is to see Christ resurrected in glory, and together with it is the bestowal of perfect justice, peace and reconciliation with the Father and the gift of selfless love.

20. The fullness of justice and the establishment of peace in human relations can thus only come with this renewal in Christ and the communion with the Holy Spirit in the lives of men and women. Social justice and social peace can approximate it only inasmuch as God's peace and justice are realized in the illumination and glorification of those who share in the common life of society. To this the life of the Church is witness.

21. The Church is the true Body of Christ. In this new ecclesial reality everything is recapitulated in Christ, and the common spiritual experience of the ecclesial community removes the estrangement of individuals from each other because it is based on an ontological unity expressed in the historical reality of the Body of Christ. The Church, as the Body of Christ, projects in space and time the historical embodiment of the Gospel and the realization of the living experience of the Christian faith.

22. But the Christian message of peace and justice goes further, to address all dimensions of human existence, thus becoming a judgment upon the world as a whole. The concern is not only with theologizing about earthly realities, but also in seeing earthly realities as God's continuing work in history through his Church and with the illumination of the Holy Spirit.

23. It is true that Christian life has not always manifested the profound reality of the prophetic and sacramental message of peace and justice in its fulness, but there is always a conscious and positive declaration of peace and justice in the ecclesial experience. In this perspective it is clear that the spiritual process of human participation in the peace and justice of Christ is a continuous spiritual struggle, in which falling and rising are characteristics of both the weakness of human nature and its forward movement toward God-

likeness. Nevertheless, Christians are mandated to work synergetically with God in his "oikonomia" of the eschatological restoration and transfiguration of his creation.

24. In our age, the severing of the world from the living ecclesial experience and the on-going profanation of society in modern times has challenged fundamental Christian affirmations on the relationship of God, humanity and the world. The era of ideological secularization has proclaimed a radical apostasy from these Christian affirmations. The Church is not any more the only teaching authority because in greater or lesser measure, various ideologies declare messages antithetical to the Christian message. This spiritual dichotomy of modern society is the challenge of the age for the Church as it seeks to provide to the world a vision of the genuine source of justice and peace in our day. It is a vision which the world desperately needs to hear, adopt and realize in practice. The Church does this not to project upon the world its own "ideology" in the place of others, but because without the saving and redeeming participation in the justice and peace of God, all our efforts are destined for failure. It is for this reason that the vision of the Church concerns itself with the whole human being, with the whole of social life, with the whole of the physical and spiritual environment of our planet. Ours is, finally, an eschatological vision in which we humbly recognize that justice and peace are of God; it is he who brings it into reality. Our task is to work with God's purposes that justice and peace may reign on earth and among all peoples.

#### C. Orthodox Christians Responding to the Demands of Justice and Peace

25. It is not enough for us simply to theologize, to describe and to prescribe regarding the Orthodox vision of justice and peace. We must also mobilize in our synergy with God's purposes for the defeat of injustices and the establishment of justice wherever possible, as well as to overcome the forces which threaten peace on earth. In order to realize God's peace and justice on earth, we are called as Christians always and everywhere that we be "servants of God" (Romans 6.22) and "co-workers with God" (1 Cor 3.9) by being obedient to his will and by imitating the example of our Lord and the saints of his Church. We see this task as a clarion call to

ourselves as Orthodox first, in our existence on the personal, the ecclesial and outreach levels.

### *The Personal Dimension*

26. In our personal Christian lives, we are expected to acknowledge experientially that each Christian is called to be a peacemaker and a worker for justice in his or her personal life. Every Orthodox Christian has received the holy calling to realize and promote justice in the concrete and specific social environment in which he or she lives. This calling has been concretely received through the sacraments of baptism and chrismation by which we have been incorporated into the Body of Christ and have begun our growth in illumination and glorification as members of God's royal priesthood and holy nation (1 Pet 2.9). Having thus received the Holy Spirit and having become children of God, we are endowed with both responsibility and power to be peacemakers and advocates of justice.

27. This calling of all Christians presupposes that we constantly stay at the source of divine peace which is possible only in the constant sacramental communion of the Church and the personal life of prayer. The prayers of the Church together with the Holy Scriptures and Holy Tradition gives to each of us the right orientation and the concrete guidelines and ideals for our lives.

28. It is not always possible, however, to live up to these ideals due to our human weakness and our lack of progress in growing in illumination and toward glorification and God-likeness, which is our sin. Therefore, repentance must be a permanent attitude and stance in life for us, a reality which also belongs to the sacramental life of the Church as a normal element in its life.

29. This attitude leads Christian men and women not only to humility, but also to an ascetic approach to life, which prevents them from submission to such things as excessive consumerism, materialistic attitudes, and the greedy exploitation of others and the natural resources of the earth. This perspective as well constantly reminds Christians of the needs of other persons who are also created in the likeness of God. According to the principles of the Christian faith, every human being should be considered by his fellow as a person created in God's image, and not simply as a statistical unit, or as a unit of material labor or a unit of consumption. We must relate with our fellow humans in imitation of

God's philanthropic love for all of his creatures. Consequently, Christians are called always to be aware of the needs not only of fellow Christians, but of all people who are in need of the necessities of life.

30. As a result, in their personal lives, Christian men and women have to be constantly vigilant and alert to the personal and social injustices in their surroundings, injustices which are at the heart of the disturbances of peace and harmony among persons and in the social environment. We must, with the grace of God, seek the gift of seeing the sin and evil present in the world. Christian men and women must also have the courage to spell out the injustices which they see, even though this might require of them personal sacrifices. These sacrifices will include the costs of involvement and action. After all, every Christian is called to identify his or her life with that of Christ, not only in the glory of the Resurrection, but also in his suffering.

### *In Ecclesial Life*

31. But we are Christians only in the life of the Church, so there must also be an imperative for justice and peace for us in our ecclesial life. Peace and justice are of the essence of the gift given to us by Christ, but they are also essential aspects of the program entrusted to us by the Lord for fulfillment as part of our contribution to the world and the societies in which we live, beginning with the very life of the Church itself.

32. Certainly our ecclesial concern with peace and justice begins with our commonly shared prayer for justice and peace. Orthodox Christian men and women are called to offer constant and fervent prayers for peace, reconciliation and justice in mutual relations among people, in the Church, between nations and in all of our daily and Sunday services, but not only generally. We must offer to God fervent prayers for peace in specific conflict areas, for a just distribution of the material goods of life among all peoples, for the protection and comfort of those who are suffering and for the final triumph of justice and peace.

33. But there is need as well for there to be both guidance and encouragement for the bishops and priests and laity of the Church to teach the people, preach to the congregations and inspire the youth of the Church to be sensitive to the issues of justice and peace, and to address them practically. We must lift up in the con-

sciousness of the Church, the peacemaking character of Christianity and the Christian duty to serve the cause of peace and justice.

34. But in addition, we must learn to use the expertise of the Church's members who are specialized in the areas of sociology, economics, politics, ecology, medicine, etc., in order to help raise the consciousness and understanding of the faithful in the practical spheres of justice and peace work. It would be useful to designate one week each year throughout the world, dedicated to the issues of justice and peace. During this week, prayers, gatherings, presentations, seminars, and discussions could be held with the intention of enhancing the awareness of Christians toward these issues.

35. Other corporate programs are also needed. We can seek to accomplish this through meetings held at times other than those of public worship; through the Church's periodical press in which peace and justice concerns should take a permanent place; through theological studies and the development of social ethical disciplines in all of our seminaries and theological schools; and through regional, diocesan, national and international gatherings devoted to peace and justice issues in cooperation with fellow Christians of other church bodies, with non-Christian religious peoples and groups and with non-believers of good will everywhere.

36. As a Church we are called to develop sensitivity to the way we function and live out our ecclesial existence on all levels of church life. As such, it is important that we do not only speak about justice and peace, but also develop projects and contribute practically in programs and in sustained organized activity on behalf of the concrete realization of the values of justice and peace in our ecclesial life. In this regard the Church must learn to dialogue especially with non-Church bodies to find the most suitable common ways for the implementation of justice and peace.

### *Outreach*

37. The Church lives not only for itself, but also for the life of the world. There is an outreach dimension to the Christian faith which seeks to bring the saving message of the Gospel to all men and women, which in Christ's compassion seeks to meet the suffering and injustices experienced by our fellow human beings in their immediate needs for care, sustenance and protection. There is the Christian concern for the very orders and structures of the societies in which we live which oppress people, or contribute to

the danger of war, or institutionalize injustice.

38. On the international level, the Orthodox commitment to justice and peace can be most effective and influential, and could give good results through our active and close cooperation with all other Christian churches in the framework of the ecumenical movement. Our membership in the World Council of Churches and participation in many similar international and regional ecumenical bodies and organizations is helping to mobilize and unite all spiritual and social forces in the common struggle for justice and peace. Indeed, Christians are to consider every injustice done to anyone else as a demand for their own response.

39. Justice and peace are equally necessary for all people and because of this, under the auspices of agencies such as the United Nations, we welcome cooperation on these issues with all people of good will, irrespective of their religious and political convictions. The main and most urgent task in this sphere of activity is to reduce the danger of nuclear holocaust, which would mean, in practice, the end of life on our planet. For this, we must reverse the arms race and help the nations move from confrontation to serious and practical negotiations about disarmament and cooperation in building a world free of nuclear weapons. For this to happen, Christians will help increase the confidence of nations regarding each other, leading toward increased understanding and trust.

40. We welcome the positive changes in the climate of international relations in recent times and express our hope and prayers that we and all of humanity may see the end of the second millenium of the Christian era as a victory of justice and peace for all of God's people.

41. But for this to occur, it is quite obvious that it is necessary to make profound changes in the contemporary system of social mechanisms which are not only producing great misery and based upon injustice and exploitation but also, for the same reason are fraught with permanent dangers of militarism and wars, which can destroy the whole of humanity and the very life on earth.

42. In all, we trust our future and that of the world in the hands of the God of justice and peace. In his first Epistle, Clement of Rome spoke of peace whose meaning, as we have seen, includes the idea of justice. We conclude with his words: "... Let us run on to the goal of peace, which was handed down to us from the beginning. Let us fix our eyes on the Father and Creator of the



universe and cling to his magnificent and excellent gifts of peace and kindness to us. . . .”

### COMMUNIQUÉ

Following an invitation from the Russian Orthodox Church, an Intra-Orthodox Consultation on the theme of “Orthodox Perspectives on Justice and Peace” was held in Minsk, USSR, during 4 - 12 May, 1989.

It took place at a time when the people of Byelorussia remembered, on the ninth of May, the forty-fourth anniversary of the end of the involvement of the USSR in World War II which is referred to here as “The Great Patriotic War”; and also at a time of significant renewal in the political, social, civic, economic and restructuring of the USSR. These observances and the clear spirit of anticipation for a better future served as an appropriate background for reflection and deliberation of the inseparable issues of justice and peace in the world.

This Consultation, following a similar one held in Sofia, Bulgaria, on “Orthodox Perspectives on Creation” during 24 October - 2 November, 1987, completes the response of the Orthodox Churches to the Program of the World Council of Churches (WCC): Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC).

The Sofia and Minsk reports will be included in the input which goes forward to the forth-coming JPIC World Convocation to be held in Seoul, South Korea, during 6 - 12 March, 1990.

This Consultation was hosted at the Metropolis of Minsk and Byelorussia and was attended by forty theologians, priests, laymen and women from Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches from various parts of the world. It was moderated by the Very Rev. Prof. Dr. Gennadios Limouris (Ecumenical Patriarch), and other WCC staff assisted in the deliberations.

The opening of the Consultation on 5 May was marked by an opening worship in the home chapel of His Eminence Metropolitan Philaret of Minsk and Byelorussia. The Very Rev. Archpriest Ioan Choroshevitch greeted the participants and read the message of greetings of His Eminence Metropolitan Philaret. The message also stressed the importance of the Consultation, both for the Orthodox Churches and for the Metropolis.

Greetings from the General Secretary of the WCC, the Rev. Dr.

Emilio Castro, and from the Director of JPIC, Dr. Preman Niles, were also conveyed by moderator Dr. Limouris, who explained the purpose and scope of the meeting in view of the forthcoming World Convocation in Seoul, South Korea.

The Consultation included liturgical and spiritual fellowship. On Sunday, the members of the Consultation took part in the Divine Liturgy at the Cathedral Church of Minsk, which was celebrated by Metropolitan Philaret and Bishop Christopher of Moravia.

On 8 May, the members of the Consultation, headed by Metropolitan Philaret, laid a wreath at the Monument of Victory and later were received by the Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of BSSR, Mr. Vladimir Mikoulitch; Secretary of the Supreme Soviet L. Syroegina; and Superintendent of the Department of Religious Affairs of BSSR, A. Zilsky. At the Government House appropriate speeches were exchanged, and an open discussion was conducted which demonstrated the ever-improving relations between Church and State in the new spirit of Perestroika.

On 9 May, the Victory Day in the USSR, the members of the Consultation visited the war memorial of Khatyn, which commemorates the over two million of Byelorussian people who lost their lives during the Nazi occupation. They laid flowers and offered prayers for the dead in various languages.

During the proceedings, the following papers were presented:

“Justice and Peace: An Ongoing and Unending Process for Freedom and Liberation for the World today” by V. Rev. Prof. Dr. Gennadios Limouris (Ecumenical Patriarchate).

“Biblical Aspects on Justice and Peace from an Orthodox Point of View” by Rev. Prof. Paul Tarazi (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, USA).

“Justice and Peace in Ecclesiological Context” by V. Rev. Prof. John Romanides (Church of Greece).

“Justice and Peace in the Orthodox Tradition” by V. Rev. Prof. Dr. George Dragas (Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain and Ecumenical Patriarchate).

“Justice and Peace in the Ecclesial Experience” by Prof. Vlassios Pheidas (Church of Greece).

“Justice and Peace in Ethics” by Prof. Vassilios Giultsis (Church of Greece).

“The Struggle of Justice and Peace in the Eastern Coun-

tries" by Prof. Totu Koev (Bulgarian Orthodox Church).

"Christian Witness to Peace and Justice and the Contribution of the Russian Orthodox Church" by Protopresbyter Prof. Vitaly Borovoy (Russian Orthodox Church).

"The Gospel of Peace, Social Justice and the Diakonia of the Church" by Rev. Prof. Dr. Valer Bel (Rumanian Orthodox Church).

"Orthodox Perspectives on Justice and Peace" by Rev. Dr. Constantin Stanulet (Rumanian Orthodox Church).

"Justice and Peace — Experiences of the Oriental Orthodox Churches in Their Communities" by V. Rev. Viken Aykazian (Armenian Apostolic Church).

The final report of the Consultation stressed the world's thirst and search for justice and peace in our times. Indeed, during the latter half of our century, humankind has experienced an irresponsible misuse of natural resources, military over-emphasis as well as various kinds of injustices in the economic, political, and social spheres.

Second, the report emphasized that the source and inspiration for finding ways to implement a true justice and a real peace lay ultimately in God's care for humankind and the earth. This care found its fullest expression in his Son's incarnation, suffering, death and resurrection, for our sake. We Christians are to find the realization of God's justice and peace in the experience of the Church sacraments, liturgy and life; and we are to speak out of this experience to our world plagued with injustice and unrest.

Finally, the report recommended practical ways for our involvement in implementing God's justice and peace on three levels: a personal one, in the daily life of each Christian; an ecclesial one, within our church as community; and in an outreach effort to join hands with all individuals, international organizations and all people of good will and organizations of good will committed to true justice and real peace.

The consultation concluded with an official dinner offered by His Eminence Metropolitan Philaret of Minsk and Byelorussia, at which the members of the Consultation, the Orthodox clergy of Minsk, Secretary of the Supreme Soviet L. Syroegina and Superintendent A. Zilsky, as well as other distinguished guests, were present.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Host: H.E. Metropolitan Philaret of Minsk, Russian Orthodox Church.

V. Rev. Viken Aykazian, Armenian Apostolic Church.

Protopresbyter Prof. Vitaly Borovoy, Russian Orthodox Church.

V. Rev. Prof. Irenej Bulovic, Serbian Orthodox Church.

V. Rev. Archimandrite Theodor Choreftakis, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Bishop Dr. Christoforos of Moravia, Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia.

Rev. Prof. Emmanuel Clapsis, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America/Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Metropolitan David of Sukhumi and Abkhazeti, Georgian Orthodox Church.

V. Rev. Prof. Dr. George Dragas, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain/Ecumenical Patriarchate.

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Deacon Nazarkin, Russian Orthodox Church.

Prof. Dr. Theodor Nikolaou, Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Western Germany/Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Bishop Niphon of Philipopolis (Saikali), Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch.

Prof. Alexej Ossipov, Russian Orthodox Church.

Prof. Vlassios Pheidas, Church of Greece.

Ms. Olga Ponamarova, Russian Orthodox Church.

Rev. Dr. Constantin Stanulet, Romanian Orthodox Church.

V. Rev. Prof. John Romanides, Church of Greece.

Rev. Prof. Matti Sidoroff, Orthodox Church in Finland.

Prof. (Ms.) Eva Suvarsky, Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia.

Rev. Prof. Paul Tarazi, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch/Archdiocese of North America.

Prof. Dr. Bel Valeriu, Romanian Orthodox Church.

Staff: V. Rev. Prof. Dr. Gennadios Limouris (Ecumenical Patriarchate), Commission on Faith and Order; Ms. Barbara Loheyde (EKD: Lutheran), Administrative Assistant, JPIC Program; Ms. Teny Pirri-Simonian (Armenian Apostolic Church), Churches' Commission on Participation and Development; Mr. Georgij Derewjantchenko; Mr. Anatoli Kormanin; Mr. Dimitri Michailoff.

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Gregory of Nyssa:  
Letter Concerning the Sorceress  
to Bishop Theodotios

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CASIMIR MCCAMBLEY

INTRODUCTION

THIS SHORT THOUGH ENGAGING TREATISE ON NECROMANCY OR WITCHCRAFT<sup>1</sup> raises far too many more thorny questions than it answers. Gregory of Nyssa had intended it as a refutation to the position maintained by his illustrious predecessor, Origen. The latter's view with regard to the so-called "witch of Endor" (1 Sam 28.7) maintained that she had seen Samuel instead of a demon.<sup>2</sup> In this letter he sets forth the conviction that a demon had deceived Saul and presented him with a forged prophecy. Due to the brevity of Gregory's epistle and its straight-forward presentation, we find it easy to discover this central theme. Nevertheless, the relationship between the soul of a just person (in this instance, the prophet Samuel) and the tendency of evil to deceive persons is an important though delicate issue in the spiritual life. Witness, for example, the offense perceived by Eustathios of An-

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek title to Gregory's treatise is *Περί τῆς ἐγγαστριμύθου*, "Concerning Necromancy." As defined by *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1966, p. 477), the word *eggastriimuthos* is defined as a ventriloquist; that is, it refers to a person who can project his or her voice without the movement of lips. More specifically, such a ventriloquist referred to women who were believed to deliver oracles from their belly. The Latin title is *De Pythonissa* which suggests *Puthikos*, the old name for Delphi, the famous place for oracles.

<sup>2</sup> "Some of our predecessors [that is to say, Origen] wished to consider as true Samuel's evocation [from the dead]."

tioch when confronted by Origen's commentary on the sorceress of Endor with regard to Christ's soul in the underworld. The latter maintained that Christ's soul was in Hades but differed from the others in that his will was not present there.<sup>3</sup>

There exists little commentary upon the letter in itself by modern scholars. Despite this fact, it should be taken within the larger context of Christ's descent into hell, life after death, and even the resurrection. Perhaps the most extensive contemporary treatment may be found in an article by K. A. D. Smelik<sup>4</sup> which situates the bishop of Nyssa's letter to his fellow bishop Theodotios, within the broader context of other Church Fathers and Rabbinic literature. Both Jews and Christians wrote on the same subject; that is, First Samuel, chapter twenty-eight, approximately up until the year 800. In brief, the rabbis considered necromancy wicked but admitted that the prophet Samuel was raised at Endor by a witch. On the other hand, Smelik divided Christian opinions on the matter into three categories:

A. Saul was resuscitated by a woman:

- Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho: PG 6.721)
- Origen (In Librum Regum homilia ii; Com. on Jn. 20.42)
- Zeno of Verona
- Ambrose (Com. on Lk 1.33, PL 15.1547)
- Augustine (De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplic., De cura gerenda pro mortuis, De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus, PL 40.162f, De doctrina christiana II, xxiii, 35, Epistle 43)
- Anastasius Sinaita (PG 89.581ff. and 746).

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<sup>3</sup>“Some distinctive marks of a ‘unitive theology’ are also evident elsewhere in Eustathius, particularly in his idea of the divinization of Christ's soul and body and their participation in the properties and being of the Logos. Here we feel reminded of Origen, who saw the soul of Christ completely steeped in the fire of the Logos, though it is just in this context that the opposition between the Antiochene and the Alexandrian becomes apparent. Eustathius is offended above all by the remarks about the soul of Christ in the underworld which Origen produces on the occasion of the question of the ‘Witch of Endor . . .’ The Alexandrian sees the difference between the soul of Christ and other spirits in the fact that while it was below in Hades with the others, by *will* it was above. The Antiochene says that by doing this, Origen makes Christ an ordinary man, just as he cannot show how the prophets were superior to other men. For all souls, even those of the most wicked men, have a longing to be above and not below.” Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. one (Atlanta, 1975), p. 298.

<sup>4</sup>“The Witch of Endor” *Vigiliae Christianae* 33 (New York, 1979), pp. 160-79.



B. Either Samuel or a demon in his shape appeared at God's command:

- John Chrysostom (Com. on Mt 6.3, PG 57.66), Com. on Letter to Titus 3.2, PG 62.678)
- Theodoret of Kyrhos (Quast. in 1 Reg. 28, PG 80.590; Quast. in 1 Paral., PG 80.808)
- Pseudo-Hippolytos
- Theodore bar Koni
- Isho'dad of Merv

C. A demon deceived Samuel and gave him a forged prophecy:

- Tertullian (De anima 57.8f)
- Pseudo-Hippolytos
- Ephraim (Com. on Sam. 28, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. P. Benedictus, ser. Syr. I, Rome 1737, pp. 387-90; n. 3)
- Nisbian Hymn 42.6 (CSCO 240.38f.) and 57.15f. (CSCO 363.63)
- Evagrius Pontikos (Cephaleia Gnostica 6.61)
- Pseudo-Basil (Com. on Is. 8.19, PG 30.497)
- Jerome (Com. on Mt 6.31, PL 26.46; Com. on Is 3.7,11, PL 24.106)
- Philastrius
- Ambrosiaster (Quaestiones Veteri and Novi Testamenti)
- Pseudo-Augustine, De mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae 2.11 (PL 35.2179).

Gregory of Nyssa belongs to the third category which generally maintains that the woman had actually seen Samuel (1 Sam 28.9) and not a demon in his form as the other two groups contend. Such an observation compels the reader to take a closer look at the actual text of First Samuel 28, an appeal Gregory of Nyssa makes at the beginning of his letter to his fellow bishop. This entreaty should be considered with the context of his two opening scriptural quotations, one by Christ (Mt 7.7), "Seek and you will find," followed by Saint Paul (2 Tim 4.13), "Attend to reading, Timothy, my son." His plea to attentiveness and a careful reading of scripture is certainly intended to impress upon his readers the necessity of not imposing their own preconceived ideas upon such a mysterious and thought-provoking incident as recorded in First Samuel. To stress his intent, Gregory makes it a point to quote the unbridgeable chasm which exists between Abraham and Lazarus (Lk 16.26) because it prevented the devil from crossing as well as a person "established in the good" from crossing over to evil. Despite this insurmountable barrier, Gregory admits that

demons attempt to deceive persons (to cross from the good to evil) through "omens, divinizations, oracles, rites to conjure up ghosts, ecstasies, possessions, inspirations, and many other tricks." Furthermore, he singles out for condemnation sorcery (*eggastrimuthos*), "a form of magic believed to attract departed souls to life on high." This form which the woman at Endor has seen took on the appearance of "gods (*theoi*) ascending out of the earth" (vs. 10). In the context of scripture, "gods" represent beings from another world; by no means do they partake in attributes considered belonging to the supreme divinity. Note that the Septuagint version has the word "gods" in the plural. Such difficulty of interpretation as revealed by this word has therefore given rise to a wide variety of misunderstandings regarding the original text as well as an equal variety of interpretations, a fact brought out by Smelik's article.

About midway through Gregory's letter, we obtain a true picture of an issue even more troublesome to his mind than sorcery. This problem is articulated in the correct interpretation of scripture, something which had continued to bother all theologians down through the centuries. Gregory asks, "How can servility to the letter of the text concur with the record of history? If Samuel is truly a vision, the sorcerer indeed sees gods." In other words, Gregory does not shrink back from the difficult problem presented by 1 Sam 28; rather, he seeks a correct interpretation of the text in the spirit of Mt 7.7 and 2 Tim 2.7 which set the tone of his search for greater understanding in his opening paragraph. To further clarify his position, Gregory quotes Ps 96.5, "All the gods of the nations are demons." The shift of emphasis now passes from the fact that the woman had summoned up Samuel over to the literal meaning of sorcery as implied by the letter's title, *Peri Eggastrimuthou*. As we have already seen, the Greek term, *eggastrimuthos*, more specifically refers to ventriloquism, the ability to project one's voice so that it can be associated with another object or person. This literal meaning fits in well with Gregory's interpretation of the demon and the way he had deceived the woman,<sup>5</sup> that is, by simulating (or projecting) Samuel's voice. In this fashion, Gregory escapes the difficulty of having Samuel associated with evil:

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<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to parallel this relationship with the serpent in the garden of Eden (Gen 3.2-14). In this instance, the serpent or devil deceived the woman in a manner similar to the way the demon had deceived the witch of Endor.

"If this [vision] were truly Samuel, how could he be associated with evil?" Like many of his fellow Christian commentators on this passage, the bishop of Nyssa refers to the incident of Balaam. "This man was a foreign priest-diviner, though not a member of the covenant community, who nevertheless remained obedient to the Lord speaking within him. In the incident which remains particularly important for Gregory, he refers to Balaam's freedom from association with omens in Num 24.1, "He did not go, as it was his custom, to look for omens." Gregory employs this thwarted tendency for soothsaying on Balaam's part as proof that the "demon who appeared as Samuel and simulated his words, had cleverly imitated prophecy."<sup>6</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa brings to a resolution the question of Samuel's evocation from the dead by referring to the prophet Elias whom ravens fed without "defiled bread nor meat used for idols" during his stay in the wilderness. This incident reveals the uneasy association Gregory feels between sacrifices and their perversion, for he is quick to make special reference to the book of Leviticus which gives details about sacrifices and attendant rituals. At this juncture he quickly brings his letter to Bishop Theodotios to a close citing his conclusion, namely, "the manner by which the [Holy] Spirit is present before baptism." Gregory admits that this problem of how the Holy Spirit affects persons cannot be answered. Furthermore, no clear reference to this matter exists in Gregory's letter but it reveals a concern of his: that the Holy Spirit is the divine Person specially responsible for inspiring all holy persons such as the prophet Samuel. Once this inspiration has firmly been rooted within a person, there is no room for any external influence such as from demons as we have seen with regard to the witch of Endor.

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The critical edition to *Peri tes Eggastrimouthou* may be found in

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<sup>6</sup> On Gregory's position, refer to the remarks by Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era* (New York, 1923), p. 470: "But Gregory believes that Samuel was already in paradise and hence could not be invoked from the infernal regions; but that it was a demon from the infernal regions who predicated to Saul, 'tomorrow you and Jonathan shall be with me.' The longer treatise of Eustathios of Antioch is a direct answer to Origen's argument as its title, *Concerning the Ventriloquist*, against Origen indicated."

*Gregorii Nysseni Opera Dogmatica Minora, pars 2*, ed. Hadwiga Horner (Leiden, 1987), pp. 101-08. The edition by J. P. Migne may be found in volume 45 (Paris, 1858), pp. 108-13.

#### THE TEXT

[Christ] says to his disciples, "Seek and you will find" (Mt 7.7). That is, he will reveal himself both to persons who are engaged in a diligent search in accord with this command and to those persons who are seeking [faith's] hidden mysteries. He who made this promise does not lie, for he has freely lavished upon us the magnificence of his gifts which transcend all our supplications. Therefore, "Attend to reading, Timothy, my son" (1 Tim 4.13). I believe it is appropriate to speak of your goodness using the great Paul's words in order that the Lord may bestow upon you understanding in all things (2 Tim 2.7). In this fashion, you will be rich in every word and in all knowledge (1 Cor 1.5). Now allow me to attend to your request since I have thought of suggesting a few words which pertain to what the Lord had recommended to you. In this way you may learn that we are to serve each other through love and by carrying out each other's will.

Since a proper understanding of Samuel is at this moment very important, with God's help and to the best of my ability, I will now offer [J. 102] a few words. Some of our predecessors wished to consider as true Samuel's evocation [from the dead]. Furthermore, they offered their opinions on this topic because he had expressed grief over Saul's rejection (1 Sam 15.35). Samuel continually besought the Lord saying, "Do you condone the witchcraft which Saul had banished from the people because it had deceived them?" For this reason the prophet was greatly vexed over the fact that the people had preferred a rejected person instead of the Lord. They [i.e. 'some of the predecessors'] claimed that God had allowed the prophet's soul to be conjured up through magic. Thus Saul might behold the falsehood which God attributed to him because he expressed indignation [M. 109] when the sorcery had conjured up his soul.

I next turn my attention to the chasm [Lk 16.26] mentioned in the Gospel which the patriarch [Abraham] said was established between evil and good persons. More accurately, the Lord of the patriarch said that the damned could not [J. 103] pass over to the repose of the saints, nor could the saints pass over to them. I do not

accept opinions with regard to this matter as true; only the Gospel should be trusted. Because Samuel was great among the saints and sorcery is evil, I do not believe that he who was included in [the patriarch's] repose could traverse that chasm which the impious could not bridge whether they willed it or not. Thus the devil could not freely cross the chasm and deprive the saints of holiness; he was unable to do this and could not attribute evil to anyone who did not want it. For a person established in the good cannot cross over to evil; even though a person might wish to do this, the chasm does not permit it.

What, then, is our opinion of these matters? The common enemy which is hostile to human nature watches man with the utmost attention. What are those occasions where a man can strike someone else, thereby depriving him of the life-giving God and freely abandoning him to destruction? Persons who are preoccupied with the body and who want knowledge of the future, means by which they hope to escape evil or follow pleasure, are unmindful of God. In their treachery, demons devise many ways [to thwart such mindfulness]: omens, divinizations, oracles, rites to conjure up ghosts, ecstasies, possessions, inspirations and many other [J. 104] tricks. Any premonition considered as true but is the result of deception reveals the cunning demon, since this person has mistaken a false opinion for a correct one.

Furthermore, the devil resembles an eagle in flight. He closely watches us in order to frustrate any hope and expectation we may have; he wishes to excite us, make our ears itch, and to divert our attention. The malevolent devil imparts these signs to persons whom he has deceived through close observation. And so, demonic worship is a way of turning men away from God because they believe that demons are responsible for this action.

One such deception is sorcery [*eggastrimuthos*], a form of magic believed to attract departed souls to life on high. Therefore when Saul despaired at being saved from the alien tribes arrayed against him, he sought deliverance from Samuel (1 Sam 18.4-5). Once the devil deceived the woman by becoming friendly with her and by using her sorcery [M. 112], he assumed numerous dark forms. However, he did not manifest himself to Saul; the phantoms which this woman's sorcery conjured up were visible only to her. At first the demon made his appearances believable while concealing (28.12) his true person [J. 105]. This surprised Saul since the woman who had been deceived did not know the true power of sorcery. Because of her ignorance,

she claimed to have seen gods ascending (28.13) and a man standing upright clothed with a double cloak.

How can servility to the letter of the text concur with the record of history? If Samuel is truly a vision, the sorcerer indeed sees gods. Scripture says of demons who are gods, "All the gods of the nations are demons" (Ps 96.5). Are we to equate Samuel's soul with the demons? Of course not. But any power obedient to demonic sorcery and other spirits associated with the deceived woman have indeed misled Saul. However, she conjured up the demons through sorcery, that is, the form which Saul sought had simulated [Samuel's] voice. Also the response which the woman uttered in the spirit of prophecy seemed to be in response to an appearance. The demon rebuked [Saul] and did not want him to know the truth: "Tomorrow you and Jonathan will be with me" (28.19). If this were truly Samuel, how could he be associated with evil? But it is clear that instead of Samuel, the evil demon had appeared and said that Saul would be with him.

If scripture shows [J. 106] that it was Samuel who was speaking, we should not alter the correct understanding of the text; however, keep in mind that scripture intends these words for anyone who believes that Samuel [is speaking]. We have learned that scripture frequently relates something apparent instead of that which is real. For example, refer to Balaam: "I will hear what God will speak in me" (Num 22.19). Later on Balaam knew that he did not please God by cursing the Israelites: "He did not go, as it was his custom, to look for omens" (24.1). For it was presumptuous of Balaam to think that he could speak with the true God. Scripture further showed that Balaam confused the true God with his thoughts about him. Because of this, the demon who appeared as Samuel and simulated his words had cleverly imitated prophecy.

Inquiry concerning Elias is unnecessary since you have failed to mention him. God ordered him to drink from the brook (1 Kg 17.4), and secretly instructed him to rescind the prophet's sentence against the Israelites. [Elias] alone drank from the brook which later [M. 113] ran dry. He had no other means to slack his thirst because [God] refused his request for rain, yet the brook continued to provide him with water. Ravens also served the prophet by providing food, an example which the true God used to show the trust many persons [J. 107] have in his assistance. These ravens did not bring defiled bread nor meat used for idols. Impious persons employ means as these as we see in the attempt to treacherously persuade Elias, for it is not

fair to hold as liable for punishment persons looking to God. If bread is brought to him early in the morning and meat in the evening, this example mysteriously symbolizes enthusiasm for the virtuous life. We should consider early morning as pertaining to the commencement of a life according to virtue. We can thus easily understand Paul when he speaks of something more perfect which is held in store for those who are perfect: "Solid food is for the perfect, or those who have their faculties exercised" (Heb 5.14).

You are not ignorant of Moses' veil, reference to which may be found in Paul's epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 3.13-18).

As for sacrifices, you may find information by more carefully examining the book of Leviticus in its entirety and by attending to the law contained there. Thus you may comprehend the part [of the text] along with the whole, for a part cannot be clearly distinguished apart from the entire text.

Your questions about the power of evil do not offer a clear solution because the angels do not associate with that archangel who became a deserter. An army in battle array clearly [J. 108] requires leadership. In this manner the question with regard to how the one can participate in the many is solved, for soldiers who have deserted their leader have a certain bearing upon the matter at hand.

Last of all, we send to your reverence, with God's assistance, our conclusion (I mean the manner by which the Spirit is present before baptism) which contains further reflections and thoughts with regard to the text.

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## Gregory of Nyssa: The Soul in Mystical Flight

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SARA J. DENNING-BOLLE

THE YOUNGEST OF THE CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, GREGORY OF NYSSA was born ca. 335. His brother Basil, his elder by about five years, became an outstanding church statesman and staunch supporter of orthodoxy. Gregory initially opted for life in the world, becoming a teacher of rhetoric and taking a wife. Gregory the Theologian, the third of the Cappadocian Fathers and close friend of Basil, influenced Gregory of Nyssa to enter a monastery in Cappadocia which Basil had established. In 370 Basil became bishop of Caesarea and, within the next year or two, raised Gregory the Theologian to the see of Sasima and the younger Gregory to Nyssa, a post that he accepted with little enthusiasm. In spite of his aversion for church politics, Gregory remained involved in ecclesiastical affairs, participating in the Synod of Antioch (379) as well as the Second Ecumenical Synod at Constantinople (381), in conjunction with Gregory the Theologian. He died ca. 394.

Although Gregory was raised in a thoroughly Christian family and received much of his education from Basil, as Jean Daniélou points out, he grew up at a time when non-Christian culture was enjoying renewed interest, which culminated with Julian the Apostate.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Gregory was intimately acquainted with the works of Plato and Plotinos' *Enneads*.<sup>2</sup> He was also greatly

<sup>1</sup>*From Glory to Glory. Texts from Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings.* trans. and ed. H. Musurillo (New York, 1961), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Francis Young, *From Nicea to Chalcedon* (Philadelphia, 1983), p. 117.

influenced by Philo and Origen. Hence, Platonic elements in his work do not always reflect the "pure Platonism" of Plato but rather exhibit a more eclectic spirit, drawing on ideas and images from Middle Platonism (itself eclectic) as well as early Christian writers.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper I would like to examine Gregory's ideas of the soul and compare them with Plato's ideas. My main source will be *The Soul and the Resurrection*<sup>4</sup> but I will also use his *Life of Moses*<sup>5</sup> to supplement and complement the analysis of the first treatise.

### *The Soul and the Resurrection: Introductory Remarks*

*The Soul and the Resurrection* is a dialogue that mirrors Plato's *Phaedo*,<sup>6</sup> that dialogue in which Socrates discusses the eternal nature of the soul during his final hours before he must swallow the poisonous hemlock. Gregory's dialogue, though focusing on the two main participants, indicates in several places that "many people" were present at the discussion (e.g., pp. 433, 459). Gregory prefaces the dialogue with a summary of the basic arguments. The dialogue itself opens with Gregory referring to the death of his brother Basil, which occurred at the very beginning of the year 379. He tells how he had decided to visit his sister Makrina, whom he calls "Teacher," "yearning for an interchange of sympathy" (p. 430). Both Basil and Makrina exerted a tremendous influence on the younger Gregory. Gregory wrote a separate treatise on the life of Makrina (*Vita Macrinae* or the *Macrinia*) sometime after her own death in late 379. Gregory viewed his sister as a paragon of Christian virtue and wrote her biography so that by her life, she "who had reached the highest summit of human virtue by true wisdom, should not fall into oblivion but be of advantage to others."<sup>7</sup> In the dialogue on the soul, he describes how he found

<sup>3</sup>A similar spirit of eclecticism pervades the work of Justin Martyr in the second century. See my "Christian Dialogue as Apologetic: The Case of Justin Martyr Seen in Historical Context," in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 69 (1987) 492-510.

<sup>4</sup>Translation from *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1893). Citations are by page number.

<sup>5</sup>Translation from *Gregory of Nyssa. The Life of Moses*, trans. Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York, 1978).

<sup>6</sup>All citations from this dialogue will be taken from the *Loeb Classical Library*, Plato, Vol. 1, trans. H. N. Fowler (Cambridge, MA, 1982).

<sup>7</sup>Johannes Quasten, *Patrology, Vol. 3. Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (MD, 1984), p. 275.

her "lying in a state of prostration even unto death" (p. 430) which disturbed him even further. However, she made an effort to hide her own pain from him as we hear from Gregory's biography of her: "And that she might cause me no depression of spirit, she somehow subdued the noise and concealed the difficulty of her breathing, and assumed perfect cheerfulness."<sup>8</sup> We learn further from the biography how exactly the dialogue between them on the soul arose, after Gregory brought up the topic of Basil's death: "While my very soul sank and my countenance was saddened and fell, she herself was far from going with me into the depths of mourning, that she made mention of that saintly name an opportunity for the most sublime philosophy."<sup>9</sup>

In the dialogue, Gregory's anguish leads him to cry out in distress about the inevitability of fearing death, in spite of Paul's admonition (quoted by Makrina) that only "men without hope" grieve for the dead. Thus, the tone and scene are set for the ensuing dialogue: the young brother Gregory is grief-stricken, not only over the death of Basil but also at the sight of his mortally sick sister. He is moved to despair about the hope of life after death and the ability of the soul to survive the body's dissolution. Makrina, the teacher, assumes the upper hand and begins a dialogue to dispel Gregory's fears as well as to prove that the soul does, indeed, survive the demise of the body and, further, rejoins the (transfigured) body in the resurrection. In many ways I am reminded of Boethius who composed his *Consolation of Philosophy* one hundred and fifty years later. The circumstances are certainly similar: Boethius, in prison, despairs that only blind chance governs the universe; philosophy comes to comfort him and demonstrates how groundless are his fears. It seems that in this similarity of mood both works could be included in the *consolatio* genre of classical literature discussed at length by Robert Gregg.<sup>10</sup>

Gregory's despair leads us directly into the dialogue. Again, his biography of Makrina summarizes clearly the main topics in the dialogue:

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 261.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> *Consolation Philosophy. Greek and Christian Paideia in Basil and the Two Gregories* (Philadelphia, 1975). Mr. Gregg does not specifically address Gregory's dialogue as part of the *consolatio*, and Boethius is beyond the scope of the book.

Examining human nature in a scientific way, disclosing the divine plan that underlies all afflictions, and dealing as if inspired by the Holy Spirit, with all the questions relating to a future life, she maintained such a discourse that my soul seemed to be lifted along with her words almost beyond the compass of humanity . . . how her argument lifted her as she went into the philosophy both of the soul, and of the causes of our life in the flesh, and of the final cause of man and his mortality, and of death and the return thence into life again. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Gregory's methodology reflects his philosophical passion and his ultimate commitment to his Christian faith. He will use the philosophical method of reasoning, examining what the philosophers before him have had to say on the matters at hand. But, most importantly, Holy Scripture has the final say. This is hinted at in the citation above from the *Makrinia* where Gregory says that she spoke "as if inspired by the Holy Spirit." His reliance on Holy Scripture is more emphatically stated throughout the body of the dialogue, but one example will suffice (Gregory is speaking):

And to those who are expert only in the technical methods of proof a mere demonstration suffices to convince; but as for ourselves, we were agreed that there is something more trustworthy than any of these artificial conclusions, namely, that which the teachings of Holy Scripture point to: and so I deem that it is necessary to inquire, in addition to what has been said, whether this inspired teaching harmonizes with it all (p. 442).

Due to the length of the dialogue I will choose several main topics and concentrate my discussion on them.

### *Definition of the Soul*

"It is a created, living, intellectual being, with the power, as long as it is provided with organs, of sensuous perceptions" (p. 428).

Gregory offers this definition of the soul in his introductory comments. Several questions immediately arise: 1) where is the soul located if it is not sensible?; 2) how is the soul distinct from God?; 3) where does the soul go after death?; 4) how will the soul recognize the dissolved elements of the body when it comes to be

<sup>11</sup>Quasten, *Patrology*, p. 261.

reunited with it?<sup>12</sup>

To begin with, a brief note on Gregory's idea of the soul is in order. Like Plato, Gregory insisted upon the simplicity of the soul, that is, its uncompounded, indivisible nature. However, and also like Plato, he held to a tripartite division of the soul. This is expressed in Plato's *Phaedros* by the image of the two horses and the charioteer (246b). In the *Life of Moses*, Gregory divides the soul into the rational, appetitive (bodily passions), and spirited (non-physical passions) (2.96). In fact, in 2.123, he specifically refers to the chariot with three drivers which reflects this tripartite division. Here, Gregory blends Plato's famous chariot metaphor with passages from Exodus which describe the scene at the Red Sea (14.7; 15.4).

The problem of where the soul is located is solved, using an argument found also in *Phaedo* (73d and following). Makrina argues that the invisible is suggested by the visible:

. . . the sight of a garment suggests to anyone the weaver of it, and the thought of the shipwright comes at the sight of the ship. . . . The Creation proclaims outright the Creator . . . we see all this with the piercing eyes of the mind. . . . (432-433)

Hence, it is not necessary for all that exists to depend upon sensual perception. Rather, what is not seen is suggested by the sensual. She further asserts, in replying to an objection raised by Gregory, that this does not imply that the soul and the Creator are the same. Scripture, she assures him, holds that "the one is *like* the other" (436). Here, Makrina refers to man being made in God's image.

Makrina alludes to the ancient Delphic admonition, "Know thyself," so dear to Socrates, early in the dialogue: ". . . the soul herself, to those who wish to follow the wise proverb and know themselves, is a competent instructress" (433). God is *the* archetype for Gregory, *the* beauty, and, as such, gives us an idea of what our soul is like:

For that which is 'made in the image' of the Deity necessarily possesses a likeness to its prototype in every respect; it resembles

<sup>12</sup>Other questions also arise but I have chosen to concentrate on these in my discussion.

it in being intellectual, immaterial, unconnected with any notion of weight, and in eluding any measurement of its dimensions. . . . (436-7).

The idea of man as image of the One is basic to the thought of Plotinos. In his essence, man is intellect (1.4.4) and it is in his intellect that man comes closer to the Intelligence (6.2.22), of which his own human intellect is an image.

But if the soul is the image of God, how do we account for such things as anger and other passions? In her argument, Makrina blends philosophical reasoning with scriptural passages. Indeed, she says, "we must therefore neglect the Platonic chariot and the pair of horses of dissimilar forces yoked to it, and their driver, whereby the philosopher allegorizes these facts about the soul" (439). Here she naturally alludes to Plato's famous description of the soul found in *Phaedros* (246 and following). Furthermore, she rejects the art of dialectic:

Now to seek to build up our doctrine by rule of dialectic and the science which draws and destroys conclusions, involves a species of discussion which we shall ask to be excused from, as being a weak and questionable way of demonstrating truth. Indeed, it is clear to everyone that subtle dialectic possesses a force that may be turned both ways, as well for the overthrow of truth as for the detection of falsehood. . . . (439)

Socrates would have wholeheartedly agreed! He was adamantly opposed to the eristic method of arguing, employed by many of the Sophists, who were often more concerned with winning an argument than searching for the truth. In spite of Makrina's protestations and her apology for the use of Scripture, she immediately proceeds to a brief discussion of the definition of the soul, using characteristically Platonic methods:

Every definition of an essence looks to the specific quality of the subject in hand; and whatever is outside of that speciality is set aside as having nothing to do with the required definition. (440)

This is the familiar method basic to Socratic enquiry. "What is x?" asks Socrates (e.g., "what is justice?"). By answering this fundamental question (which often took up an entire dialogue and, in some cases, as, for example, *Meno*, was never adequately an-

swered), one could define the being or essence of *x*. Makrina maintains that by defining soul (what is *x*) we can distinguish between essence and accidents. The passions are mere accidents and do not belong to the soul's essence. She further states that strife exists in the soul with these accidents: "There is a battle of the reason with them and a struggle to rid the soul of them" (440). This recalls the contention of the two horses in Plato's chariot metaphor. Hence, Makrina initially rejects use of this imagery and sophistic dialectic but then uses Socratic definition and the struggle-metaphor to prove that passions such as anger are not essential to the soul. The conflict is resolved to a certain extent by her reference to Moses as an example of the successful man who has exercised his reason to overcome the passions. Scripture, in a sense, offers the last word.

I will mention only briefly how Gregory deals with the other two questions arising from the definition of the soul, namely, where does the soul go after death and how does the soul recognize the (dissolved) body in order to be rejoined with it.

Using a cosmological scheme, Gregory shows how there can be no such thing as a literal underworld. If the earth is spherical and half of it is shrouded in darkness while the other half enjoys the full light of the sun, then the dark half will continually move as the sun encircles the earth. Hence, the atoms (the elements of the body) on either side of the earth will experience the same phenomenon. Why, then, should one or other region be regarded as the abode of released souls? Rather, Makrina continues, only bodies admit of the property "place:" since soul is immaterial (being the image of its archetype), "place" is not a property of soul. Thus, the soul is "by no necessity of her nature detained in any place" (443-44). Socrates, too, discusses where the soul goes upon death. He mentions Hades but not as a particular place:

But the soul, the invisible, which departs into another place which is, like itself, noble and pure and invisible, to the realm of the god of the other world in truth, to the good and wise god. . . . (*Phaedo* 80d)

Although Gregory is eager to refute the traditional idea of the underworld as a repository for the soul, he is certainly in agreement here with Socrates who also held that the soul departed to an unseen world.

Once this is accepted, we must still answer the question: if the

body is dissolved into its atoms upon death, how can the soul know which atoms are hers, so to speak? Makrina replies, in good Platonic fashion, with a simile. She insists that the soul is like the artist who mixes his colors but who "will nonetheless remember the actual nature of that color . . . so, we assert, does the soul know the natural peculiarities of those atoms whose concourse makes the frame of the body in which it has itself grown, even after the scattering of those atoms" (445). Makrina also refers to the classical philosophical notion of opposites not admitting each other in the same body. The "intelligent essence" knows its body exactly as it was; since opposites do not mix in the same body, the soul will recognize *its* particular composite body (438). The idea of opposites not admitting each other provides a major argument for the immortality of the soul in *Phaedo*:

If what is immortal is also perishable, it is impossible that at the approach of death the soul should cease to be . . . it cannot admit death, or be dead (106b). . . . So it appears that when death comes to a man, the mortal part of him dies, but the immortal part retires at the approach of death and escapes unharmed and indestructible. (106e)

The discussion up to this point has centered on the nature of the soul. If the soul is simple, imperishable and eternal and, so, continues to exist after the death of the body, what does this say for the resurrection? Makrina addresses several theories put forth by the philosophers, particularly Pythagoras and Plato, in order to refute them. By refuting them, she will also be able to show how the soul is created anew with each body rather than having existed prior to creation. She rejects the Pythagorean concept of the kinship of all beings, refusing to accept the idea that all beings are endowed with a soul. Otherwise, she says, men could not do anything in the world for fear of damaging or eating a kindred soul. But it is her discussion of Plato that I would especially like to address.

Gregory refers to the description in *Phaedros* where Plato tells us of the gradual loss of the soul's wings and the soul's ensuing incarnation in a human body (248). Plato posits nine types of men into which the soul can fall; if the soul has not understood universals, it can never take on human shape. The reason the soul loses



its wings in the first place is due primarily to forgetfulness of the original vision it glimpsed of the intelligible world of Being:

. . . when, through inability to follow, it fails to see, and through some mischance is filled with forgetfulness and evil and grows heavy, and when it has grown heavy, loses its wings and falls to earth . . .  
(248c)

It is particularly the act of forgetfulness that Plato stresses; upon this rests his theory of recollection, where the soul regains its memory of that initial vision and pulls itself out of the mire of sense perception. Gregory, however, concentrates on the word evil and makes that his basis for refuting Plato. He summarizes the loss of wings argument and the soul's subsequent efforts to raise itself back up to the vision (455). But what good will that be, enquires Gregory. If evil caused the soul to fall then evil must be located in the heavens. If the soul returns to the heavens, what guarantee is there that evil will not cause the soul to fall again? How absurd, he maintains, that evil exists in the pure heavens! Even heaven, in the Platonic view, would be neither pure nor uncontaminated.

It seems to me that Gregory is basing his argument on an erroneous interpretation of Plato. Evil, to most classical philosophers, was defined as non-existence. It is not a separate entity, "out there." It simply *is* not. If the heavens are the sphere of pure Being, they could not logically admit of non-being, according to the philosophical view that opposites cannot admit each other (a view which Gregory avails himself of quite generously earlier in the dialogue). But, further, it is not so much evil that causes the soul's fall but *forgetfulness*, something the soul *can* overcome with diligence and, through recollection, participate once again in the world of Being. Instead, Gregory insists that it is "undeviating revolution along with the stars (that) is the foundation and cause of evil in every soul" (455). Hence, Gregory rejects these Platonic conceptions along with the pre-existence of souls. I find it unconvincing, however, because he inadequately applies a Christian notion of evil and sin to a Platonic framework that cannot easily accommodate it.

### *The Mystic Ascent*

The Platonic theory of recollection and Gregory's views of the

soul find a common ground in the mystic ascent, the return to God. It is also here that Gregory's ideas differ substantially from Platonic thought.

Gregory thoroughly agrees with the Platonic division of the world into two parts:

In short, the whole world of existing things falls into two divisions: i.e., that of the intelligible, and that of the corporeal: and the intelligible creation . . . seems . . . to verge closely upon Him, exhibiting as it does that absence of tangible form and of dimension which we rightly attribute to His transcendent nature. The corporeal creation . . . must certainly be classed amongst specialities that have nothing in common with the deity. . . . (458)

The world of the intelligible, of God, is identified both with the Good (*Life of Moses* 2.237) and true Being (2.235), which, in turn, is equated with true life. How does a person participate in the Good and achieve a vision of God?

Gregory's *Life of Moses*, composed toward the end of his life in the 390's (1.2), was written as a counsel "concerning the perfect life" (1.2) in response to a request by one Caesarius (2.319).<sup>13</sup> The book is written as a formal treatise in four sections: preface, *historia*, *theoria*, conclusion.<sup>14</sup> The *historia* or history, recounts the life of Moses, while the bulk of the work is the *theoria*, the underlying spiritual meaning of the biblical narrative. Gregory views Moses' life as the soul's progress to God. In his treatise, Gregory utilizes many allegorical interpretations that were widespread in fourth century Christian scholarship, including many interpretations that might strike us as odd today, e.g., Moses' outstretched arms as a foreshadowing of the Cross. Moses himself was interpreted as a *type* of Jesus Christ: in this, Gregory was following a common trend of his day.

The theme of the mystical ascent is virtue: Moses' life is seen as a progress in virtue toward perfection, which will inspire each of us in our own lives:

Certainly whoever pursues true virtue participates in nothing other

<sup>13</sup>It is interesting that Cusanus' *De Visione Dei*, a handbook of the mystic ascent written in the fifteenth century, was also composed at the request of the monks of Tegernsee. See Nicholas of Cusa, *The Vision of God* (New York, 1960).

<sup>14</sup>See the introduction to the *Life of Moses*, p. 3.

than God, because he is himself absolute virtue (1.7). . . . For the perfection of human nature consists perhaps in its very growth in goodness (1.10).

The word translated as virtue (*aretē*, ἀρετή) was a term rich in meaning in classical philosophy. While it is most often translated as "virtue," we should bear in mind that it is also equated with "goodness," "excellence."<sup>15</sup> Hence, *aretē* also referred to the excellence achieved by something for which it was created. Gregory, as a good classical philosopher-Christian, inherited this terminological treasure. The soul, in pursuing a life of *aretē*, was not simply leading a good or virtuous life, as our rather anemic equivalents indicate. Gregory held that human nature, before the fall, was "unbroken and immortal" (2.215). The soul strove for the original excellence in which she was created. She is returning to her original state of purity, participation in true Being, true Goodness. In this regard, Gregory and Plato are in agreement: recollection for Plato meant that the soul will recall her initial purity; the virtuous life for Gregory leads back to an original participation in the Good. They are also both in agreement as to what causes the soul to become besmirched in the first place: "sense perceptions . . . which are, as it were, wedded to our nature as its companion" (*Life of Moses*, 2.157); "desire of the corporeal" (*Phaedo* 81d). Likewise with the method of freeing the soul are they in accord:

He who would approach the knowledge of things sublime must first purify his manner of life from all sensual and irrational emotion . . . when he is so purified, then he assaults the mountain (*Moses*, 2.157). The knowledge of God is a mountain steep indeed and difficult to climb — the majority of people scarcely reach its base (2.158).

And does not the purification consist in this which has been mentioned long ago in our discourse, in separating, so far as possible, the soul from the body and . . . living, so far as it can, both now and hereafter alone by itself, freed from the body as from fetters? (*Phaedo* 67c-d)

Gregory begins to diverge from the Platonic tradition when he turns to the subject of motion, specifically, the motion of the soul.

<sup>15</sup>*Greek-English Lexicon*, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (1968), s.v., ἀρετή, p. 238.

For Plato, "all soul is immortal. For that which is ever moving is immortal . . . only that which moves itself, since it does not leave itself, never ceases to move and this is also the source and beginning of motion for all other things which have motion" (*Phaedros* 245c). Gregory, instead, insists upon the importance of free will. There are two types of movement: one down toward evil, the other up, toward the Good. After the fall, God appointed to man an (incorporeal) angel as well as the evil corruptor, who "contrives" against our nature" (2.45). It is completely up to us which way we are to go. Hence, "we are in some manner our own parents, giving birth to ourselves by our own free choice in accordance with whatever we wish to be . . ." (2.3).<sup>16</sup>

The movement toward evil, however, is not limitless, insists Gregory. True Goodness is infinite, while logically, evil is finite. The movement toward evil, then, will eventually cease, due to the finite nature of evil, and turn back upwards, to the Good. Gregory constantly uses Plato's metaphor of the winged soul which soars ever upwards, once it is freed from the entanglements of the flesh (e.g., 2.224).

Where Gregory most emphatically parts company with Plato concerns the knowability of true Being. For Plato,

. . . the soul which has never seen the truth can never pass into human form. For a human being must understand a general conception formed by collecting into a unity by means of reason the many perceptions of the senses; and this is a recollection of those things which our soul once beheld . . . (*Phaedros* 249c).

According to Platonic thought, the sensible world, as a mere reflection of reality and constantly subject to change and dissolution, was not ultimately knowable. Only the realm of the intelligible, the world of forms, was knowable precisely because it was not subject to mutation. Participation in true Being consisted in the soul's recollecting its original vision of that eternal realm. Not so for Gregory. True Being is infinite and is, by nature, unknowable:

<sup>16</sup>It is interesting that Gregory associates the choice towards evil as resulting in a female body, while the male body points to one who has chosen a life of virtue. In Homer, *aretē* indicates especially manly qualities (*Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v., ἀρετή, p. 238. Homer, of course, was classic literature and would have profoundly influenced later Greek thinkers who inherited his tradition.

Yet the characteristic of the divine nature is to transcend all characteristics. Therefore, he who thinks God is something to be known does not have life, because he has turned from true Being to what he considers by sense perception to have true being (2.234). True Being is true life. This Being is inaccessible to knowledge (2.235).

This unknowability of Being has profound implications for the mystical ascent itself. Socrates felt that the life of the philosopher was a practice in the art of dying and that the ultimate attainment of wisdom was possible once the soul was no longer shackled by the body (*Phaedo* 67e and following). Participation in the Good is possible. But what if that realm is unknowable and infinite? Gregory asserts:

. . . it is also impossible for those who pursue the life of virtue to attain perfection (1.6). The munificence of God assented to the fulfillment of his desire (Moses' wish to see God), but did not promise any cessation or satiety of the desire (2.232).

For Gregory, the mystical ascent is a never-ending one. "Perfection is not marked off by limits: The one limit of virtue is the absence of limit. How then would one arrive at the sought-for boundary when he can find no boundary?" (1.8). The soul experiences first a *despair* at discovering that it cannot attain the goal (2.220). This is immediately followed by *hope* (2.231) for greater vision, whetted by the glories already tasted. Gregory unleashes the world of Being and allows it to expand infinitely according to its infinite nature. He uses the philosophical notion of the search for true Being and logically follows it to its conclusion: if Being is infinite, the search itself must be infinite. This movement differs strikingly from Plato. For him, movement from without involved change and, in turn, implied the instability of all composite, dissolvable material things. Movement which belonged to the eternal consisted of self-movement. For Gregory, the constant growth and change in the soul towards God was *good*. Further, the soul's motion was not so much a self-movement but involved the grace of the Word which drew the soul upwards. Gregory has reinterpreted the classical concept of movement and, through Christian ideas, removed the stigma of change.

What, then, is the nature of the vision? Both Plato and Plotinos use the metaphors of light. Gregory begins with light as the soul

proceeds into the mystic vision, the light gives way to an impenetrable, infinite darkness, just as Moses entered the dark cloud on Sinai (2.163ff.). He refers to this darkness by way of a paradox: it is a "luminous darkness" (2.163). Gregory realizes how inadequate human speech is to describe the ineffable. Speech by nature delimits; hence, it is doomed to failure in arriving at any trustworthy description. Like Plato, Gregory relies on the use of metaphors and similes. But he is especially renowned for his use of descriptive paradoxes to indicate the infinite nature of the mystic experience. He speaks of "sober inebriation," "passionless love," "stationary movement," "watchful sleep."<sup>17</sup> The heart of the matter, however, concerns the nature of the vision itself:

This truly is the vision of God: never to be satisfied in the desire to see him. But one must always, by looking at what he can see, rekindle his desire to see more. Thus, no limit would interrupt growth in the ascent to God, since no limit to the Good can be found nor is the increasing of desire for the Good brought to an end because it is satisfied (2.239).

This perception, expressed as vision, is a paradoxical one. It is a sight in a certain sense, but a sight that yields to the infinite darkness. One then senses the *presence* of God, rather than seeing him. We can discern in Moses' journey a two-fold process: first, he "grew in knowledge" (2.164) and came to realize the impossibility of knowing God within the limits of human comprehension (2.166); second, once at this point, "he is taught the other side of virtue" (2.166), namely, how to achieve the perfected (virtuous) life (which, as we have been assured, is an endless pursuit). This two-fold process accords with Gregory's division of "religious virtue" into two parts: "that which pertains to the Divine and that which pertains to right conduct" (2.166). I think we may see the first stage as a vital part of the purification process, the realization that our knowledge is inadequate.<sup>18</sup> This closely parallels the Platonic assertion (so evident in many of the dialogues) that one must first admit one's ignorance before one can truly begin the

<sup>17</sup>See Jean Daniélou's introductory essay in Musurillo, *From Glory to Glory*, pp. 34-46 as well as Daniélou, *Platonism et théologie mystique* (Aubier, 1944), pp. 247ff.

<sup>18</sup>One thinks also of Cusanus' "learned ignorance."

ascent. This was accomplished through the use of *elenchos*, the continual interrogation of someone in order to show him that he did not really understand the heart of a matter when he thought he did. We see also that Plotinos posited two stages for the ascent:

There are two stages of the journey for all, one when they are going up and the other when they have arrived above. The first leads from the regions below, the second is for those who are already in the intelligible realm and have gained their footing There; but must still travel till they reach the furthest point of the region (1.3.1).<sup>19</sup>

The striking difference between Plotinos and Gregory is evident in what Plotinos immediately adds: "the furthest point" is, in fact, the "end of the journey," which, as Armstrong points out, is Plato's vision of the Good as described in the *Republic*.<sup>20</sup> For Plotinos, the vision, the moment of intuition, is attainable. Gregory, on the other hand, felt that not only was the vision *not* a seeing but that the search for the vision was endless, infinite like the infinite Good.<sup>21</sup> At this point, it is *aretē* which is essential, rather than "knowledge" (*gnosis*).<sup>22</sup>

I would like to add a few words about the notion of vision and light. Plato's famous metaphor for the moment of intuition is his cave image (*Republic* 532a-e) which is echoed in an altered form in *Phaedo* (beginning in 109b). Plotinos naturally uses the metaphor as well.<sup>23</sup> Gregory is fully familiar with the image and uses it in several treatises.<sup>24</sup> In the Platonic metaphor, the person, through his own efforts, emerges from the cave to the brilliance

<sup>19</sup>Plotinos, vol. 1, *Loeb Classical Library*, trans. A. H. Armstrong (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 153.

<sup>20</sup>*Republic* 7 (532E3); citation taken from Armstrong, *ibid*.

<sup>21</sup>For a brief discussion on Gregory's affinities with Cusanus regarding the infinite vision, see Donald F. Duclow, "Gregory of Nyssa and Nicholas Cusa: Infinity, Anthropology and the *via negativa*," *Downside Review* 92 (1974) 102-08.

<sup>22</sup>See C. W. Macleod, "Allegory and Mysticism in Origen and Gregory of Nyssa," *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 22 (1971) 371.

<sup>23</sup>"... and his cave, like the den of Empedocles, means, I think, this universe, where he says that the soul's journey to the intelligible world is a 'release from fetters' and an 'ascent from the cave' " (4.8.1.). Translation from Armstrong in Plotinos, Vol. 4, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), p. 399.

<sup>24</sup>See the discussion by Daniélou in "Le symbole de la caverne chez Grégoire de Nysse," *Mullus. Festschrift für T. Klauser*, (Munich, 1964), pp. 43-51.

of the sun; he cannot bear too much light at first but must gradually accustom himself to it by repeated short absences from the gloomy grotto. Gregory uses the metaphor but applies a perfectly Christian interpretation, as Daniélou illustrates. Rather than man taking the initiative and cautiously venturing from the dark familiar recesses, it is the Word itself which enters the cave and provides man with the necessary impetus. Thus, the Christian notion of grace is a vital part of the process. Once given the initiative, man then follows Christ from the cave. Like Moses, man should always keep God's back towards himself and follow his Guide (e.g., *Life of Moses* 2.251ff.). One cannot face God, says Gregory, for to face the Good means to be turned in the opposite direction to Good, which, by the logic of opposites, must be evil (2.254).

### *The Resurrection and the Virtuous Life*

Although I have already touched on the subject of the resurrection in this essay, I would like to return to it and examine how Gregory's views on the resurrection accord with the pursuit of virtue.

Gregory, as the main interlocutor in the dialogue, enquires into exactly what sort of body the soul will be rejoined with in the resurrection (462ff.). Taking up the notion of Heraklitos that all things are in a state of flux, Gregory points out that at no point in a person's life is he ever the same:

. . . that single man will become a crowd of human beings, so that with his rising again there will be found the babe, the child, the boy, the youth, the man, the father, the old man, and all the intermediate persons that he once was (463).

Which body, then, which stage, will be resurrected?

Makrina answers by way of a definition of the resurrection: it is "the reconstitution of our nature in its original form" (464). The changes which occur to our physical body result from the body's association with evil. "Accordingly a life that is free from evil is under no necessity whatever of being passed amidst the things that result from evil" (464). We will be returned by God to the "primal state of man" (465). These changes are mere accidents, not essential to man's nature. The resurrection will involve man's essence, the original purity he possessed as God's image before



the fall. Those who lead a life of vice will "experience very great severity from their Judge" (467).

In spite of the endless nature of the striving for perfection, Gregory does envision an end to the world. He speaks in the *Life of Moses* of the "final restoration" (2.82) and at the end of his treatise on the *Song of Songs* he declares:

When all men look to the same goal of desire and become one and no evil remains in anyone, God will be everything to everyone, to those who through unity with one another are united by participation in the good in Christ Jesus our Lord . . . <sup>25</sup>

Creation, says Gregory in his dialogue with Makrina, is the "realized thoughts of God" (429); this includes humanity which is described as a thought "not yet complete" (429). But human nature is destined to recapture its original pure image of God, and so, will eventually become complete:

Whenever, then, humanity shall have reached the plenitude that belongs to it, this onstreaming movement of production will altogether cease; it will have reached its destined bourn . . . (459).

Gregory here refutes the Platonic idea of the eternal quality of creation.

Is such optimism well-founded? Most assuredly, Gregory would reply. This is a logical extension of the idea expressed in the *Life of Moses*: even the downward slide toward evil will reach its limit, due to the finite nature of evil (see above, p. 108.). Hence, all things are destined to turn upwards towards the virtuous life. When that happens, the "final restoration" will be realized. Gregory's unbounding optimism and universal tone reminds us of the second-century apologist Justin Martyr, especially in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. Still, I cannot help but feel that Gregory has a bit of trouble completely harmonizing the virtuous life with the resurrection: if the "final restoration" occurs when all turn towards the upward ascent, why are there still those men (whose life is one of vice, not virtue) who must face the severe Judge? And if, as he claims, the Good is infinite and the mystical ascent is limitless, how is it that a time will be reached when the resurrection, restoring man to his original God-like image, will result in a life that is "fixed and imperishable, with no birth and no decay to change

<sup>25</sup>*Life of Moses*, p. 168, note 102.

it" (459)? One senses here a real conflict within Gregory between his Christian commitment and his philosophical heritage.

*Concluding Remarks: Gregory and the Classical Tradition*

It is fitting at this point to conclude with a brief discussion about this conflict that Gregory experienced. That there *was* a conflict we can presume: the nature of the phenomenon (the clashing of two distinct traditions) makes it inevitable. I am reminded of Gregory's younger contemporary Synesios of Cyrene whose inner struggle was so intense that, upon his appointment as bishop of Ptolemais, he wrote a letter in which he warned that he could never allow the philosopher within him to yield to opposing Christian dogma.<sup>26</sup> Synesios always tried to assimilate the philosophical tradition with Christian doctrine; if the two were incompatible he opted for philosophy. Gregory does not seem to suffer so acutely, but the fact that the conflict exists is indicative of the intellectual and spiritual climate of the day. It is clear that in the case of Gregory, Christian doctrine always abided; this is evident from innumerable passages in his works where the testimony of Scripture offers the final word.

Gregory freely admits that many questions cannot be answered by the use of reason. For example, when he asks when and how the soul comes into existence, he flatly states that we can never know the how (429; 458). There are certain areas reserved for faith and he seems to have no difficulty with that. This is not to say that Plato or Plotinos never encountered the limits of reason. Even in Plato, the ascent followed the paths of reason as far as possible; the final leap was always one of intuition. And one can detect, I think, a certain tone of exasperation in Plotinos when he exclaims: "And he who has seen it knows what I mean (when I say) that the soul has another life, when it approaches the (One) . . ." <sup>27</sup>

All true mystics come to the frustrating limits of human reason and speech when dealing with these mysteries.

When discussing Gregory and his classical heritage, I think

<sup>26</sup>See J. Bregman's *Synesius of Cyrene. Philosopher-Bishop* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 155ff.

<sup>27</sup>From the 6th Ennead and following, I have only the Dutch translation: "En wie het gezien heeft, weet hoe ik het bedoel dat de ziel dan een ander leven heeft, als ze het (Ene) nadert . . ." (6.9.9). Translation of R. Ferwerda, *Enneaden* (Amsterdam, 1984), p. 880.

that H. F. Cherniss' criticism is far too caustic: "He was afraid of all enemies unless they were already weakened strangers . . . only this strange double nature of the man can explain how he could have been at once so penetrating in thought and so perverse in drawing his own conclusions."<sup>28</sup>

Cherniss claims that Gregory "filched" from Aristotle and Plato. As I hope has become clear from this essay, Gregory certainly did use many Platonic elements in his own theological system. But he is thoroughly Christian. The Old Testament foreshadows the New, and he discerns Christ in Moses, the cross in Moses' outstretched arms as well as in the wood used to sweeten the waters at Massah and Meribah. Several stinging statements in the *Life of Moses* are clearly directed against ecclesiastical matters concerning his contemporary church (e.g. 1.161). Baptism is stressed especially in connection with the crossing of the Red Sea (2.124-29). And he emphasizes the Scriptures as the basis for his theological ideas. From Plato he inherited, among other elements, his views on the corporeal and incorporeal worlds, the mystic ascent of the winged soul in its quest for the vision of the Good and therefore, ultimately harboring a divine spark. Gregory blends his Christian mysticism and the philosophic quest in his views of the virtuous life, the life of the perfect. He goes outside of the philosophic boundaries by positing an endless search, the vision which consists in never being satisfied in the desire to see God. And yet, the goal is patently Christian: "To have but one purpose in life: to be called servants of God by virtue of the lives we live (2.315). The goal of the sublime way of life is being called a servant of God" (2.317). To be a servant as Moses was and as Christ himself was, *the* prototype — *this* is the ultimate purpose for man. Nothing could be more Christian than that.

Both Socrates and Gregory achieve the implicit aim that underlies both of their dialogues: overcoming the fear of death. It was this fear of the finality of death that Gregory so poignantly expresses to Makrina at the outset of his dialogue (430ff). It is this very problem which Socrates addresses in *Phaedo* (68d ff). The argument in both dialogues is the same: one fears death because one fears that the soul is not eternal, that death is the end of everything. But both men prove that the soul, the reflection of God, is indeed

<sup>28</sup>*The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa* (New York, 1930), pp. 63ff.

immortal and imperishable. Hence, the wise man (the philosopher or the virtuous man) need not fear: death *is* not final. What is most important is that the wise man set his sight on the truth and strive for participation in the Good. Gregory obviously has some difficulty harmonizing his endless mystic ascent with the Christian doctrine of the “final restoration” of the universe. Still, I do not think we should criticize him too harshly for his “inability” to harmonize his two traditions to logical perfection. No mystic has ever been able to carry rational perception through to the mystic vision. This is due to no fault of any mystic but to the very nature of the phenomenon. The genius of the mystic is that he fully recognizes where the threshold lies between his God-given reason and the stroke of intuition. Gregory was such a genius. He used all the tools of philosophical reflection in his upward journey. But, like Plato and Plotinos before him, he realized that true sight consists precisely in *not* being able, rationally, to penetrate the darkness.

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## Faith, Sacraments, and the Unity of the Church: The Text and A Response

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Introduction by  
THOMAS FITZGERALD

THE "JOINT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE THEOLOGICAL Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church" released its second statement in August, 1987. The statement is a result of the meeting of the Commission which took place from June 9 to the 16th at the Oasi Sancta Maria, Cassano delle Murge, near Bari, Italy. This meeting was viewed as the continuation of another held at the same location in 1986. Earlier meetings of the full Commission were held on Patmos and Rhodes in 1980, in Munich in 1982, and on Crete in 1984. The Munich meeting produced the first statement entitled "The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the Light of the Holy Trinity."

The International Commission was formally established by the two Churches in 1979. It is composed of twenty-eight Roman Catholic members and twenty-eight Orthodox members. Each of the fourteen autonomous and autocephalous Orthodox Churches have two representatives on the Commission. Representing the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, Archbishop Stylianos of Australia serves as the Orthodox co-chairman. The president of the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Jan Cardinal Willebrands, serves as the Roman Catholic co-chairman. The distinguished membership of the Commission reflects the fact that both Churches place great emphasis upon its activity.

The text of the Bari Statement is divided into two parts. The first part, entitled "Faith and Communion in the Sacraments,"

seeks to identify the central themes which need to be agreed upon by the Churches prior to the restoration of full communion. The Commission clearly operates on the premise that unity of faith is the prerequisite for unity in the sacramental life, especially the Eucharist. The central themes which the text identifies are: 1) True faith is a divine gift and free response of the human person, 2) The liturgical expression of the faith, 3) The Holy Spirit and the Sacraments, 4) The faith formulated and celebrated in the sacraments, 5) Conditions for communion of faith, 6) True faith and communion in the sacraments, and 7) The unity of the Church in faith and sacraments.

The second part of the Bari Statement, entitled "The Sacraments of Christian Initiation: Their Relationship to the Unity of the Church," deals chiefly with those points of liturgical practice which presently differ markedly between the two Churches. Brief though it may be, this section attempts to address in a preliminary manner issues such as Baptismal immersion/infusion, the separation of Chrismation/Confirmation from Baptism in the Catholic Church, as well as that Church's practice of permitting the reception of Holy Communion prior to Confirmation. The fact that a deacon in the Catholic Church may be the ordinary minister of Baptism is also mentioned as a difference in the practices of the two Churches.

With regard to a number of these points, the Statement does not seek to provide some historical, theological, and pastoral perspectives which have led to the divergent practices. Given the magnitude with which some view these differences, however, one would have appreciated greater elaboration on a common understanding of the true significance of these liturgical practices.

It should be also noted that the text identifies quite briefly seven essential points regarding the doctrine of Baptism on which the two Churches are in agreement. Here as well, the reader would certainly have benefited from greater elaboration of these points. These points of doctrinal agreement may appear obvious to the members of the Commission. However, the fact remains that many persons, both theologically trained and otherwise, continue to call to mind the points of differences between the two Churches but do not always pay sufficient attention to crucial points of doctrinal agreement.

There is no discussion in the text of the crucial issue of the

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*Observer* and was founder and first editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

His literary works also included the following: *The Individual and His Orthodox Church* (1970), *The Orthodox Liturgy* (1976), *A Dictionary of Greek Orthodoxy* (1984), *The Orthodox Church on Birth Control* (1975), and *All That a Greek Orthodox Should Know* (1986).

All who knew Fr. Patrinos were spiritually enriched and intellectually challenged by him. Those who studied under him have always considered it a privilege and an honor. May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou  
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

#### †IOANNES KOLITSARAS (1903-1989)

IOANNES KOLITSARAS WAS BORN IN NEOHORION, MESSOLONGHI, Greece. He was left an orphan at an early age and was cared for by his relatives. From a young age he was influenced by the Zoe movement, especially by Archimandrite Serapheim Papakostas who was a theologian-teacher in his hometown school.

Upon graduation from high school he entered the Theological School at the University of Athens and was gainfully employed by the Zoe organization to pay for his studies. Following his graduation in 1924, he was assigned as teacher in the secondary school system. In 1925 he was transferred to the Seminary-Teacher's School of Messolonghi and in 1930 to the Vellas Seminary-Teacher's School of Ioanna, Epeiros.

In 1945, he resigned from his teaching position and dedicated himself completely to the work of the Zoe Brotherhood. He served as editor of the periodical *Zoe* and was a contributor to several Christian periodicals, including *Aktines*, *Zoe tou Paidiou*, and *Hellenike Christianike Agoge* of which he was the founder and first editor, plus many other religious periodicals.

He authored numerous books, especially for the catechetical instruction of children and the general enlightenment of Orthodox Christians. His works on the interpretation of Holy Scripture and commentaries for the general public are still of the greatest value.

Ioannes Kolitsaras was one of the most influential theologians of modern Greece. May his memory be eternal.

*George C. Papademetriou*  
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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in the parishes of Athens, and numerous other social institutions that still function today. He spent much effort trying to rejuvenate the Church of Greece.

Archbishop Ieronymos was a prolific writer, eloquent preacher, and an excellent scholar and teacher. He published numerous scholarly studies on history and canon law. He also published newspaper articles for the edification of the Christian people. *Paul* by J. Holzner was one of several works that he translated from the German into Greek.

In addition, he authored important works on canon law and inter-Church relations. Some of his published works are: *Intercommunio* (in Greek), Athens, 1957; *The Validity of the Anglican Orders according to the Canon Law of the Orthodox Church* (in Greek), Athens, 1958; *The Position of the Byzantine Emperor in Divine Worship* (in Greek), Thessalonike, 1960; and *Notes on Orthodox Canon Law* (in Greek), 3 volumes, Thessalonike, 1960-62. He also made important presentations in Evanston, New Delhi, Nigeria, and numerous other international conferences. He spent the year 1963-64 in the United States where he did research.

Archbishop Ieronymos Kotsones was a true Christian leader, a devoted university professor, a prolific writer, and an excellent Christian scholar whose death leaves a great gap in the Orthodox Church.

May his memory be eternal.

*George C. Papademetriou*  
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

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†Archbishop Ieronymos Kotsones  
(1905-1988)

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ARCHBISHOP IERONYMOS WAS A NATIVE OF HYSTERNA, TINOS. Following his elementary and secondary education in his home town, he entered Rizarios Ecclesiastical School and graduated with high honors. In 1924, he entered the Theological School of the University of Athens and graduated *magna cum laude* in 1928.

The young Ieronymos served as secretary to Archbishop Chrysostomos Papadopoulos (1928-1934). In 1934, he won a scholarship to the German universities of Munich, Berlin, and Bonn. Later he went to England where he did research at the Library of the British Museum. In 1938, Ieronymos returned to Greece and was ordained deacon by Archbishop Chrysanthos of Athens. In 1939, he received his doctorate from the School of Theology of the University of Athens and was ordained priest the following year. From 1938 to 1941 he served as secretary of the Holy Synod.

During the Second World War, under the Italian occupation, he served as Director of Welfare for the Archdiocese of Athens organizing food services and serving as Chaplain of Evangelismos Hospital. From 1950 to 1959 he was the General Secretary of the Committee for a Free Cyprus.

In 1959, Fr. Kotsones was elected Professor of Canon Law at the Theological School of the University of Thessalonike, meanwhile serving as well on the central committee of the World Council of Churches representing the Church of Greece.

He was elected Archbishop of Athens in 1967. As archbishop he emphasized the need for philanthropy and social welfare. During his tenure as archbishop, several institutions were founded, including: the Inter-Orthodox Center in Athens, the Library of the Holy Synod, the House of the Peace of Christ (for older people)

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would have chosen to be either an Orthodox priest or monk rather than a Protestant clergyman. However, I did not realize that the Orthodox Church even existed until only a few years ago, and I knew nothing of the beliefs and practices of the church until I started to study it a couple of years ago. Books such as *An Introduction to Orthodox Spirituality* deserve to be shared with those outside the Orthodox faith.

John D. Mummert  
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Euthimios Tsigaridas, *Latomou Monastery: The Church of Hosios David*. Translated by Deborah Whitehouse. Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1988. Pp. 89. Frontispiece + 10 figures + 32 plates. Paperbound.

The Greek edition of this book was published in 1987. The book is one in a series of guides to Byzantine monuments in Thessalonike generously provided by the Institute for Balkan Studies. The author has studied history, archaeology, and theology at the University of Thessalonike and at the Sorbonne. He has a doctorate from Thessalonike and has worked in the Greek Archaeological Service since 1966 with a special scholarly interest in Byzantine and post Byzantine art. It is only appropriate that he should turn his attention to the Church of Blessed David, which was once the central church of Katholikon of the Monastery of Christ the Savior of the *Latomoi* (quarrymen) in Thessalonike's Upper Town, to the southwest of Vlatadon Monastery. For centuries a mosque under the name of Suluca, it was reconsecrated as the Christian Church of Hosios David in 1921. Academician A. Xynogopoulos conducted the first investigation of the Keramedim Mosque or Suluca and published historical and archaeological details which correctly identified the building. He was guided particularly by the description of the mosaic representation of the "Theandric image. . . of Christ" in the sanctuary apse by Ignatios, Abbot of Akapniou Monastery in his *Narrative*, which is the only source of the history of this monastery from its foundation to the ninth century. The foundation is attributed to Emperor Maximian's Christian daughter Theodora in the fifth century. Additional testimony is found in the *Life* of Saint Joseph the Hymnographer, who ca. 831 entered

holy orders in the Latomos or Latomoi Monastery. The monastery was renovated in the twelfth century and adorned with wall paintings. The painted decorations were renewed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries and certain frescoes are associated with Ioasaph Kommenos Maliassenos or his family. Latomoi is mentioned in a document of Zographou Monastery on Mount Athos. It was last mentioned by Ignatios of Smolensk who visited Thessalonike in 1405. In 1430 Thessalonike fell to the Turks. Perhaps the destruction of the monastery's Katholikon by earthquake or fire explain why it is not mentioned in later records, or it may be because it was overshadowed by other, more imposing buildings of Thessalonike. Between 1972 and 1975 the Greek Archaeological Service worked on the building and uncovered frescoes dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, thus adding to the monument's earlier Christian mosaic and fresco decorations.

Dr. Tsigaridas's guide surveys the architecture of the early Christian, Byzantine, and Turkish (1430-1912) periods and brings us up to date, while sequentially he discusses the sculptural decoration of the church, and the other decorations that consist of mosaics and wall paintings of exceptionally fine artistry and quality, which make it one of the most important monuments not just in Thessalonike but for the whole of Byzantine culture. The church was a precursor of the cross-in-square type with an external dome, illuminated by means of large double windows, separated by mullions. The early Christian period, the middle Byzantine and Palaeologan periods are represented in the decoration of the church. It is Tsigaridas's assessment that "The art work of Latomou Monastery as a whole is governed by an internal rhythm, which arranges the individual elements into a uniform synthetic layout. Without affecting the monumental nature of the compositions, this rhythm informs all the figures, while at the same time helping to emphasize the central character: the rhythmical movement is organized around this central figure, who nevertheless does not remain aloof. Thus, the Latomou Monastery compositions are arranged according to a dynamic rhythm . . ." (p. 73). Symmetry and balance are emphasized as the chief characteristics of this monastery, whose paintings are described as possessing a harmonious synthesis of elements derived from the eleventh century and applied in the twelfth. The artist's education is seen as im-



portant in restricting his "composition to the essential subjects, who are united in a unified synthetic layout based on an internal center or axis; the harmony; the balance and symmetry in the compositions; the rhythmic interrelationship between the figures' attitudes and movements; the counterbalancing motion of the bodies; the figures' autonomy and self-sufficiency within the composition . . . the tendency to render the natural structure of the body plastically . . . the sense of moderation . . . the lyricism of the line . . . the delicacy of the colours . . . and the return to the ancient ideal of beauty adapted to the ideals of Christian spirituality" (p. 79).

Euthimios Tsigaridas has provided us with an excellent guide with bibliography, pictures, and plans to a gem of Byzantine art and architecture now viewable in Thessalonike, thanks to modern archaeological investigation and restoration.

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*The Roman West and the Byzantine East.* By Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi and Hieromonk Auxentios. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 59. \$5.50, paper.

Those who know the work of Traditionalist Bishop Chrysostomos and Hieromonk Auxentios know that their publications are incisive, concise, and to the point, and always supportive of a genuinely Orthodox Christian position. Even though portions of this volume appeared in *Orthodoxy and Papism* (1983) by Bishop Chrysostomos, that publication is now out of print, and the new edition has seen revisions and amplifications. Though preserving the spirit of the late iconographer Photios Kontoglou, his article "What Orthodoxy Is and What Papism Is" is not included. The main emphasis is on making the necessary distinction between the Roman West and the Byzantine East.

Throughout this terse publication the authors are concerned that Christianity in the West is virtually always viewed from a Western point of view that ignores the incontrovertible fact that Christianity arose and was spread to the West from the East; that Byzantine or Eastern Christianity is older and firmly grounded in the original Church of Christ. The separation of the two Churches

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## Making Christian the Christians: The Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom

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PHYLLIS RODGERSON PLEASANTS

THERE ARE TWO TRUISMS IN CHRYSOSTOMIAN SCHOLARSHIP: (1) HIS writings emphasize pastoral concerns about how to live the Christian life, and (2) Chrysostom is a lover of Paul. The two are not unrelated as it is usually assumed that pastoral concerns unite Chrysostom with Paul.<sup>1</sup> According to Chrysostom scholars, pastoral, ethical concerns dominate in Chrysostom's baptismal instructions, as opposed to the mystagogical concerns of other fourth century instructors such as Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Toivo Harjunpaa writes,

It was customary to instruct the neophytes during the Easter week on the meaning of the sacramental rites, which is why, in the east, they were commonly known as mystagogical catecheses. In this respect Chrysostom's homilies provide an exception to the rule, for his instructions do not predominantly deal with the holy mysteries, but with the obligations of the Christian life.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chrysostom Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (Westminster, 1950), 1, p. 290. "Almost one-half of the surviving homilies of Chrysostom are dedicated to the Epistles of St. Paul. These had their foundation in homiletic, pastoral, and practical considerations which, before all else, bound both these great souls together in an unmistakable way, in personal congeniality and communion of spirits." Cf. J. F. D'Alton, *Selections from St. John Chrysostom* (London, 1940), pp. 197-203; Paul W. Harkins, trans., *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, Ancient Christian Writers, No. 31 (Westminster, MD, 1963), p. 247, n. 20; Frances M. Young, "John Chrysostom on 1st and 2nd Corinthians," *Studia Patristica XVIII*, Vol. 1, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Kalamazoo, 1985), pp. 351-52.

<sup>2</sup> Toivo Harjunpaa, "St. John Chrysostom in the Light of His Catechetical and

In examining Chrysostom's post-baptismal homilies, Harjunpaa again writes, "In Chrysostom's instructions, particularly after baptism, the main emphasis does not fall on the mysteries of faith, or *unio mystica*, but on ethics."<sup>3</sup> Burnish writes, "The character of the lectures too is more a pastoral than a definitive exposition of the faith, and he seems less concerned with denouncing heretics than with combating the temptations of the hippodrome."<sup>4</sup> Paul W. Harkins stresses in his 1963 translation of Chrysostom's baptismal instructions that "... his exegesis is never far removed from instruction in morality and exhortation to the life of virtue." He also says, "He is much more interested in instructing his people and correcting their faults. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

I would suggest that while Chrysostom's baptismal instructions are not predominantly mystagogical in the technical sense of explaining the symbolism of baptism and the eucharist, they are concerned with mystery. Specifically, the baptismal instructions are concerned with the mystery of the union between Christ and the Christian. At a time when being called Christian was often a political, social necessity because Theodosios I had declared it the only legal religion, Chrysostom is trying to impress upon his auditors that baptism is not a rubric. Chrysostom does have a practical, pastoral concern: How does one enable another to understand that the mystery of union with Christ makes the difference between being called Christian and being Christian, and that one should willingly, actively enter into this mystery?

This paper will examine Chrysostom's use of Paul in the Stavro-niketa Series<sup>6</sup> of baptismal instructions. The examination is lim-

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Baptismal Homilies," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 29 (May 1977) 175-76.

<sup>3</sup> Harjunpaa, "Baptismal Homilies," p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond Burnish, *The Meaning of Baptism: A Comparison of the Teaching and Practice of the Fourth Century with the Present Day* (London, 1985), p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Harkins, *Baptismal Instructions*, p. 6. Cf. Paul W. Harkins, "Chrysostom's Postbaptismal Instructions," in *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of the Very Reverend Georges Vasilievich Florovsky*, ed. David Neiman and Margaret Schatkin, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 195 (Rome, 1973), pp. 151, 154, 156-57, 159, 164-65.

<sup>6</sup> Antoine Wenger, A. A., *Huit Catéchèses Baptismales*, Sources Chrétiennes No. 50 (Paris, 1957) for the Greek text. Paul W. Harkins translated these into English in his book already cited. In this paper the Greek text will be cited as (SC, p. \_\_\_\_.) while the English text will be cited as (ACW, p. \_\_\_\_).

ited to this series of eight baptismal instructional homilies delivered during Lent and Easter week of A.D. 390 because it includes pre-baptismal, baptismal, and post-baptismal homilies. Having homilies from the whole range of the baptismal instructional process aids in discerning what Chrysostom contributed to this process. Examination of Chrysostom's use of Paul's writings in the Stavroniketa Series will demonstrate that the great mystery of union with Christ is the foundation for Chrysostom's instructions.<sup>7</sup>

The mysterious and the practical are not opposites in Chrysostom. Rather the practical is grounded in the mystery and has no reason to exist apart from the mystery. The mystery of union between Christ and the Christian allows one to live as if the invisible has become visible. Those who have experienced it perceive reality differently from those who have not. Behavior will change due to two aspects of this dynamic of the invisible appearing visible. The graciousness and power of God which are invisible to those who have not experienced union with Christ are now visible to those who have, and they will live differently because of their different perception of reality. On the other hand, the union with Christ is invisible to those who have not experienced it and can only appear visible in the lives of those who have. Paul is Chrysostom's teacher in understanding the experience of this mystery, and Chrysostom allows Paul to speak to his hearers in order to teach them as well.

From the very beginning Chrysostom seeks to impress upon his hearers the mystery of their union with Christ. The first eighteen paragraphs of the first homily are devoted to using marriage as the paradigm for the relationship they are preparing to enter.

<sup>7</sup> Examining Chrysostom's use of Paul in these instructions is not due to the truism of Chrysostom's love for Paul, but due to the predominance of his referring to Paul in these instructions. When one eliminates the repetitions of certain passages, Pauline writings, including Hebrews which Chrysostom accepts as Pauline, are referred to 45 times. There are 21 references from the Gospels, 13 of which are from Matthew. There are only 7 other New Testament references, all of which are from the Book of Acts, and primarily refer to Paul. There are 34 references from the Old Testament. Repeating passages within an instruction appears to be Chrysostom's teaching technique. For example, in the fourth instruction the text, 2 Cor 5.17, is repeated nine times. Repeating passages from instruction to instruction is much less frequent. The following is a list of the NT references and the number of times each is used, not including repetitions: Matthew, 13; Luke, 2; John, 6; Acts, 7; Romans, 4; 1 Corinthians, 10; 2 Corinthians, 6; Galatians, 4; Ephesians, 6; Philippians, 1; Colossians, 4; 1 Thessalonians, 1; 1 Timothy, 3; Titus, 1; Hebrews, 5.

Chrysostom cites "the blessed Paul, the universal teacher" as the source for using both the paradigms of military enlistment and of marriage to describe the commitment and union that take place between the soul and Christ. He insists that there is no contradiction between the two paradigms since Paul used both, and proceeds to develop the marriage paradigm (ACW, p. 23).<sup>8</sup>

Chrysostom develops the marital model first using as his theme 2 Corinthians 11.2, "I have betrothed you to one spouse, that I might present you a chaste virgin to Christ." "Come, then, let me talk to you as I would speak to a bride about to be led into the holy nuptial chamber" (ACW, p. 23). Lest anyone misunderstand him and interpret him too literally, Chrysostom continues, "I am talking of the soul and its salvation." The chaste virgins betrothed to one spouse are those souls making progress in piety. The union which Chrysostom encourages his listeners to enter is not one that is passively received. Instead it is a dynamic union in which both parties actively participate. Union, therefore, is experienced by those who have prepared — those making progress in piety (ACW, p. 24). Making progress in piety is the purpose of this concentrated instructional period.

Continuing to develop his paradigm of the marriage relationship between Christ and the soul, Chrysostom turns to Ephesians 5.28-32 where Paul discusses the union between husband and wife and applies it to the relationship between Christ and the Church.

So intimate is this union and adherence that the two of them are one flesh. Tell me, what reckoning will be able to discover this, what power of reason will be able to understand what takes place? Was not the blessed teacher of the whole world correct in saying that it is a mystery? And he did not simply say a mystery, but: This is a great mystery [ACW, p. 28].

This great mystery is the mystery of which Paul speaks with reference to Christ and to the Church. "Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν·

<sup>8</sup> In Harkins' English translation of this homily he refers to the marriage and military motif as similes. However, the Greek word Chrysostom uses, τοῖς παραδείγμασι (SC, p. 108), is a much stronger concept. Παράδειγμα means pattern or model. Chrysostom is not comparing two unlike things using "like" or "as". Instead he is saying the marriage relationship is a pattern or model for the soul's relationship with Christ. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised by Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford, 1966), p. 1307.

ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (Eph 5.32).<sup>9</sup> The relationship between the soul and Christ is one of union and adherence so intimate that the two become one. No thinking or reasoning can define this. It is a mystery, a great mystery.<sup>10</sup>

It is significant that Chrysostom begins his baptismal instructions with this Pauline passage where the Apostle applies the mystery of the marriage relationship to the relationship between Christ and the Church. Chrysostom begins his contribution to the instructional process not with dogma, nor behavioral advice, nor symbolic interpretation, but with the recognition of mystery. Being Christian as opposed to being called Christian is not based on rubrics. Being Christian is based on entering into a relationship with Christ that is a mystery.

Although they are not as developed as the marriage paradigm, there are other Pauline references that reflect Chrysostom's grounding of these instructions in union with Christ. Chrysostom concludes the first homily by saying, "Soon you will put on Christ. You must act and deliberate in all things with the knowledge that He is everywhere with you" (ACW, p. 41). In the second instruction, Chrysostom returns to this idea of putting on Christ, and the support for this idea of union is again Paul. Chrysostom is describing baptism as a burial and resurrection where the old is buried and the new person "is resurrected, being renewed according to the image of his Creator" (Col 3.10). Using the image of putting off a new garment and putting on a new one, Chrysostom says, "What am I saying? We put on Christ himself." He supports this by quoting Galatians 3.27, "For all you who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" (ACW, p. 47).

Christ is *not* the same as a garment that can be put on and taken off at will. Chrysostom evokes the concept of union in the idea that Christ is everywhere with the baptized Christian. Also, Christ is put on when one is baptized *into* Christ. Being baptized

<sup>9</sup> Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1983), p. 513.

<sup>10</sup> Μυστήριον meaning secret, secret rite, mystery, secret revealed by God is found twenty-one times in the Pauline corpus. In the Gospels it is only used in one context, Mark 4.11, and is used in the plural in the parallels to this passage in Matthew and Luke. Outside of the Gospels and the Pauline corpus it only occurs one time in the Book of Revelation. Μυστήριον is a dominant concept in Colossians and Ephesians, and is developed by Paul to mean God's secret plan revealed in Jesus Christ. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago and London, 1979), p. 530.

into Christ is the intensive process which Chrysostom proceeds to explicate immediately following his quotation of Galatians 3.27 by instructing in the rites of exorcism, sponsorship, making the covenant<sup>11</sup> with the Master, anointing, and baptism (ACW, pp. 47-53).

After baptism Chrysostom again refers to Galatians 3.27 to impress upon the neophytes the magnitude of what has happened. In this section he associates putting on Christ and having Christ in them. They are to ponder the baptismal garment which they now wear because they have put on Christ. Now they are encouraged to do everything "as it were having Christ the creator of all things and the Master of our nature indwelling" (SC, p. 184). Chrysostom recognizes that putting on Christ, the mystery of union with Christ, is the mystery of the Godhead. "But when I say Christ, I also say the Father and the Holy Spirit" (SC, p. 184, ACW, p. 67).

This reference to putting on Christ is in the first post-baptismal instruction, where Chrysostom also refers to union with Christ as found in 2 Corinthians 5.17: "If, then, any one is in Christ, a new creature" (SC, p. 189). In the paragraph where he begins to explicate this text, Chrysostom refers to both bridal and "putting on" imagery. The mention of the bridal procession of the Church reminds his hearers of the marriage paradigm they learned about at the beginning of their instruction. In Christ all things become new as taking off the old garment and putting on the royal robe is an image for letting go of sin and taking on illumination. "If anyone is in Christ, a new creature; the former things have passed away, behold all things have become new" (SC, p. 189, ACW, p. 71, 74).

<sup>11</sup>Harkins (ACW, p. 50) translates τῶν συνθηκῶν as contract. However, according to Liddell and Scott, p. 1717, ἡ συνθήκη in the plural means the terms of agreement as in a covenant or treaty between individuals or states. Later Chrysostom does use τὰ γραμματεῖα which can mean bond, contract, or document (L & S, p. 358). The two words are not equivalent though. I believe he draws the distinction between the documents that bond people in this world and the covenant between those about to be baptized and the Master (τοῦ Δεσπότης) when he says, "Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ πίστις λέγεται ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲν ὁρώμενον ἔχει ἀλλὰ πάντα τοῖς τοῦ πνεύματος ὀφθαλμοῖς κατοπτρεύεσθαι δυνάμενα. Ἀνάγκη γὰρ γραμματεῖα συντελεσθῆναι μεταξύ, οὐκ ἐν χάριτι οὐδὲ διὰ μέλανος ἀλλ' ἐν Θεῷ διὰ πνεύματος."

(SC, p. 143) "In this world there are contracts or bonds between people. The covenant which will be celebrated between the baptized and the Master is faith. Again this shows Chrysostom's understanding of the mystery because this bond will not be on paper or by ink but in God through the Spirit. Once again he is demonstrating the dynamism of relationship."



In his baptismal instructions Chrysostom does not confine his use of Paul to the mystery of union with Christ. In the second pre-baptismal instruction Paul indicates how one understands the relationship of union with Christ. Understanding and commitment to the understanding require the eyes of faith.

What takes place here requires faith and the eyes of the soul, so that you pay heed not only to what is seen, but that you make the unseen visible from the seen . . . but the eyes of faith are quite the opposite. For they see nothing of visible things, but the invisible things they see as if they were lying before their eyes. This is faith: to see the invisible as if it were visible. St. Paul says: Now faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that are not seen [Heb 11.1, ACW, p. 46].

To make the unseen visible and to see the invisible as if it were visible become significant concepts in Chrysostom's instructions.<sup>12</sup> The eyes of faith allow the believer to perceive reality differently upon entering into the mystery. When the believer "minds the things that are above" (Col 3.1),<sup>13</sup> one's thoughts are changed "from earth to heaven, from visible things to those which are unseen." When this happens, according to Chrysostom, one will see earthly things more clearly due to a different perspective (ACW, p. 53).

With the seventh instruction, the next to the last post-baptismal

<sup>12</sup>Making the invisible visible from the seen is not unique to Chrysostom. As Margaret R. Miles has pointed out in her article "The Evidence of Our Eyes: Patristic Studies and Popular Christianity in the Fourth Century" this process was tied to the Christian understanding of the Incarnation which had made visible the invisible. Church architecture, movement in the liturgy, and icons were visual theological communicators. "For fourth-century women and men, the linguistic aspect of Christian faith — catechetical instruction and the verbal part of liturgy — was strongly balanced by a visual communication packed with information, meaning, and values." (*Studia Patristica XVIII*, Volume 1, Kalamazoo, 1985), p. 59. Cf. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), and Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (San Francisco, 1986).

<sup>13</sup>Chrysostom quotes both Col 3.1 and 3.2 as "τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε," mind the things above. The Greek text of the New Testament actually reads "τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε," seek the things above in Col 3.1, and "τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε," mind the things above in Col 3.2. One would think Chrysostom was only using Col 3.2 except he talks about the Apostle repeating himself (ACW, p. 109). Whether minding or seeking, Chrysostom is stressing, as is Paul, that there is another reality to which those who have been united to Christ should attend.

instruction, Chrysostom again turns to Colossians 3.1-3 to explain "mind the things above." One's attention is to be where Christ is, seated at the right hand of the Father (Col 3.1), because after baptism one's citizenship is in heaven (Phil 3.20; ACW, p. 108). Minding the things above enables the Christian to see that the things of the world are subject to corruption; accordingly, the Christian learns to focus on eternal things (ACW, pp. 109-12). What Paul is encouraging Christians to do is not impossible because they have died and thus no longer have anything in common with this life. The Christian life is now "hidden with Christ in God" (Col 3.3) because "our old self has been crucified and buried through baptism" (Rom 6.6). Life in God is hidden from others but will one day be visible (ACW, pp. 112-13). As Christians are minding the things above, they are to strive for the peace and holiness without which no one will see God (Heb 12.14; ACW, p. 118).

Chrysostom's final instruction uses Paul's writings on faith in Romans 4.3 and Hebrews 11.13-16, to describe faith as seeing with the eyes of faith and believing in the invisible as if it were visible. "That man has faith who judges that what God has promised, even if unseen by our bodily eyes, is more deserving of belief than the things which are seen and lie before our eyes." Hebrews 11.13-16, where Paul writes on Abraham, serves as Chrysostom's example of one who kept before himself those things which are perceived by faith knowing that "the architect and builder is God" (ACW, pp. 121-24).

Disturbed by those who are called Christian and yet are still enamoured with what the world offers in rewards, Chrysostom contrasts those who believe in God's promises whether or not they ever see them with those

who have received the promise of spiritual goods, become excited about visible things and fail to hear the blessed Paul when he says: "For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal" (2 Cor 4.18; ACW, p. 124).

Paul writes that God has prepared for those who enter the mystery "goods which eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man" (1 Cor 2.9). Chrysostom, on the other hand, is grieved because in spite of everything, Paul, and Chrysostom through Paul, has said, "... we gape after the goods of this world. ... For these seem to be the things which make the present life

bright. Seem, I said, because they are nothing but shadows and dreams'' (ACW, p. 124).

Discernment is very important to Chrysostom's understanding of the difference between being called a Christian and being a Christian. In order to understand not only baptism, but being Christian, one must also be able to distinguish to which reality one is giving one's loyalty.

In discerning the reality to which one is giving one's loyalty, there is yet another dimension to Chrysostom's use of Paul in his baptismal instructions. Those who have experienced the mystery of union with Christ will live differently. They will do so because the invisible has become visible to them. They will also live differently so that the invisible may become visible to others through them.

Chrysostom did not gather from his study of Paul that the mystery of union with Christ is an experience passively received. This mystery is one which is entered into actively in response to the grace of God.<sup>14</sup> Entering into relationship with Christ requires active participation as a marriage relationship does. The mystery of marriage is actively entered with gifts from the bridegroom and a dowry from the bride. In the union with Christ which the baptized will enter, the dowry the soul brings is "the obedience and the agreement which will be made with the Bridegroom."

And what are the gifts which the Bridegroom brings before marriage? Hear the blessed Paul. He shows us when he says: Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ also loved the Church and delivered himself up for her, that he might sanctify her, cleansing her in the bath of water by means of the word, in order that he might present to himself the Church in all her glory, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing [Eph 5.25-27].

Chrysostom marvels at the wonder, "the magnitude," "the ineffable bounty" of one who would pour out his blood as a gift for

<sup>14</sup>The graciousness of God is a favorite theme of Chrysostom's that would merit a study on its own. He discusses the graciousness of God at least 24 times in this series of baptismal instructions with all but the sixth instruction having these references. The most references are in his first instruction to those about to be baptized and the second highest number of references is in his first post-baptismal instruction to the neophytes.

all who come obediently into the union *before* the union has been consummated (ACW, p. 29).

Out of the mystery to which the believer brings obedience and renunciation of all other loyalties, and Christ gives cleansing and sanctification, come belief (ACW, pp. 30-32) and lifestyle (ACW, pp. 32-42) verification of the union which has occurred. Chrysostom is convinced that understanding grounded in pious faith will be reflected in speech (ACW, p. 30; cf. pp. 74-75). "It is also fitting that those who manifest such faith shine forth by their good conduct" (ACW, p. 32). Being quite specific about the conduct that will shine forth is characteristic of Chrysostom. He uses Paul to substantiate his exhortations to curb the passions (Gal 5.19-20; 24) and acquire the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5.22-33, ACW, p. 36), as well as his attacks on drunkenness (Eph 5.18, ACW, pp. 82-85), and on how women dress, adorning themselves with jewelry and braided hair (1 Tim 2.9-10), and wearing make-up (ACW, pp. 36-39; cf. pp. 76-77 where he talks about crucifying the flesh with its passions).

For Chrysostom, Paul is the perfect example of the changed life that results from entering into the mystery of union with Christ. In his first post-baptismal instruction, Chrysostom uses Paul as the model of one who did not delay baptism, but entered into it straightway and "became a herald of the truth," going first to those whom he had intended to persecute. Paul "reaped the benefit of God's liberality and then abundantly contributed his own share,"<sup>15</sup> thereby receiving "a larger measure of help from above" which is precisely what Chrysostom says will happen to those who imitate Paul. Paul is the model of the truth of the former things passing away and all becoming new in Christ. Chrysostom exhorts his hearers, "Let us forget the whole past and, like citizens in a new world, let us reform our lives, and let us consider in our every word and deed the dignity of Him who dwells in us" (ACW, pp. 68-72; cf. p. 77). Christians are able to live like this when they view no sin as insignificant, thereby keeping "strong and unshaken your contact with the Master, which you wrote not with ink nor on paper, but with faith and in confession" (ACW, p. 78).

In the next post-baptismal instruction, Paul is again the one to imitate because he continued to grow in the mystery into which

<sup>15</sup>Contributing or doing our (your) fair share is almost a refrain for Chrysostom. It is an expression of the participatory nature of union with Christ.

he had entered. He did not stand still or reject the union of which he had become a part. By imitating him, the neophytes could be called newly baptized (νεοφώτιστοι) for their entire lives. "The blessed Paul, by his postbaptismal virtue, drew to himself an increase of help from on high and not only continued to persevere in that brightness, but also made the light of virtue which was in him shine with increased luster (ACW, pp. 87-89).

In his final instruction Chrysostom encourages his listeners, sophisticated city dwellers that they are, to learn from the monks visiting from the countryside because they have imitated Paul in working with their hands and by letting their deeds speak for them. "Let us learn the intention of their heart and that they prove in deed the things we, in our love of true doctrine, strive to teach by words." Their living governed by attention to another reality is stressed:

Who could count them blessed as they deserve to be counted blessed? They have no share in the world's teaching, but they have been taught the true wisdom and have shown in deeds the fulfilment of the Apostle's word: The foolishness of God is wiser than men [1 Cor 1.25; ACW, pp. 120-21].

In using Paul and the monks as examples, Chrysostom reminds his listeners that they, too, are examples. Too many called Christian in Antioch are negative examples showing that being called a Christian does not make any difference in the way they live. Chrysostom urges those listening to him to allow the invisible to become visible through them. Union with Christ is not for the individual alone. There is a corporate dimension to experiencing the mystery of union with Christ.

Using the imagery of an athletic contest, Chrysostom says that Christians are engaged in front of the whole world in the struggle with demons and incorporeal powers. "But from today on, the arena stands open, the contest is at hand, the spectators have taken their seats. Not only are men watching the combats but the host of angels as well. 'We have been made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men' " (1 Cor 4.9; SC, p. 171; ACW, pp. 58-59). Chrysostom desires that Paul's cry apply to the hearers: "But we all, with faces unveiled, reflect the glory of the Lord" (2 Cor 3.18).

In reflecting the glory of the Lord, Christians must also pay attention to their neighbor. Chrysostom clearly feels that Chris-

tians will be rewarded on the basis of the good they do, not only for themselves in their progress toward piety, but also for others. Paul provides substantiation for Chrysostom's emphasis on corporate responsibility:

"Let no one seek his own interests, but those of his neighbor" (1 Cor 10.24). And again: "Edify one another" (1 Thes 5.11). Therefore, do not look only to your own health and freedom from disease, but take considerable thought and care that your fellow member is set free from the hurt which comes from this evil and that he flees this disease. "For we are members one of the other. And if one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it, or if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it" [1 Cor 12.26 conflated with Eph 4.25; ACW, p. 86].

Just as those who lead others to more virtuous lives will be rewarded, so will those who lead others into more lax lives be judged more severely. The sixth instruction is devoted to this theme as Chrysostom instructs on the consequences for those who have forsaken daily instruction in the church for other attractions in Antioch even before the conclusion of Holy Week. He insists that it is for the benefit of those who are not present that he exhorts those who are to be faithful in their responsibility for other members.

. . . for it is possible for them to get exact knowledge of all I have said through their association with you, and on the one hand to flee the devil's snare, and on the other to return to their spiritual nourishment. . . . Even if our patients are not here, we entrust their cure to you who are well, and I reveal the grief of my soul to you, that hereafter you may care for the salvation of your own members . . . [ACW, pp. 99-100].

Christians must exercise this responsibility because Christ died for each person. ". . . St. Paul cried out against those who give scandal and do hurt to the consciences of those who see their wicked actions, saying: 'And through thy knowledge the weak one will perish, the brother for whom Christ died' " (1 Cor 8.11). Therefore, it is necessary for the faithful to remind and encourage the less faithful lest they lead astray one for whom Christ died (ACW, p. 101).

Those who have knowledge of piety and yet continue going to

“idol places,” “the racecourse,” and “Satan’s deadly spectacles” are a scandal and will deserve their condemnation because they failed to attend to Paul’s exhortation, “Do not be a stumbling block to Jews and Greeks and to the Church of God” (1 Cor 10.32; ACW, pp. 96, 98-99). Christians will not be stumbling blocks when the foundation for all they do is the glory of God.

Did you see what counsel the Apostle has drawn from his most inward being? He fears exceedingly and trembles for those who are hurt by our laxity, and he knows that no small danger lies in store for those who move others to become lax. This is why, in exhorting others to take heed of virtue in all things, he said: ‘Whether you eat or drink, or do anything else, do all for the glory of God’ ” [1 Cor 10.31].

Chrysostom specifically details how Christians may give glory to God. One eats and drinks to the glory of God by recognizing that all one has is given by God and thanking God for it as well as being temperate in conversation, eating and drinking. One lives out the “do anything” for the glory of God not only when one does no evil deeds, but also when one does good deeds for “the approval which comes from God alone” instead of for human glory. Christian actions will “move each one who sees us to glorify God,” and will include how we spend our time even in the marketplace as well as our conversation with our friends. By giving attention to “those in affliction,” “critical circumstances,” “prison,” “those who are utterly deserted and enjoy no consolation,” and by limiting our visiting to “orphans, widows and those in want” instead of seeking those with health, wealth, and fame, we will do all for the glory of God and “move each one who sees us to glorify God” (ACW, pp. 96-98).

For Chrysostom the mystery of union with Christ results in a deeper awareness of, and responsibility for, others who are called Christian along with those in need whether or not they have committed their loyalty to Christ. Union with Christ is not for the salvation of the individual alone, but for the reconciliation of the whole world to God. Being Christian means allowing the invisible to become visible through the life that the Christian lives.

In his baptismal instructions, Chrysostom is a faithful interpreter of Paul. Even when he does not use those verses where Paul specifically refers to baptism, Chrysostom is most faithful in im-

itating Paul's pattern of following his discussion of baptism into Christ with a discussion of how a Christian should live. In Romans 6.3-4, Paul says that those who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been raised to newness of life. He completes chapter six by discussing the difference between being a slave to sin and being "alive to God in Christ Jesus" (6.10). Paul emphasizes that life is lived differently because the Christian's allegiance is not to this world, but to God. In his discussion in Galatians of the life of freedom that is a result of being baptized into Christ (3.27), Paul exhorts the Christians to live bearing "fruits of the Spirit" instead of "works of the flesh" both of which he details in chapter five. In chapter six Paul calls Christians to a corporate responsibility of restoring trespassers and bearing one another's burdens. This same pattern of union with Christ resulting in living differently is found in 2 Corinthians 5-7.1, Ephesians 4-6, and Colossians 2-3.

By compiling reference upon reference, Chrysostom has used Paul to show that the Christian life begins in the mystery of union with Christ. Out of that union a Christian lives differently. When the invisible has become visible their lives will reflect it in their conduct and concern for others as well as themselves. By beginning with the mystery of relationship Chrysostom recognizes that one is not made Christian, not even in baptism. One becomes Christian by actively participating in the mystery of union with God in Christ through the Holy Spirit.



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## Mary and the Incarnation

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JOHN MOORHEAD

"THE ONE LORD JESUS CHRIST . . . INCARNATE BY THE HOLY SPIRIT of the Virgin Mary." This form of words, based on a Latin text (Unum Dominum Iesum Christum . . . incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine), occurs in that version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed used in the Christian West, and professes to represent the mechanism by which the Incarnation was effected. Unfortunately, it does not express the original form of the creed, according to which Christ was incarnate "of the Holy Spirit and (of) the Virgin Mary."<sup>1</sup> Many texts could be cited to show that the latter formulation faithfully expresses the understanding of the Christian East. Among Orthodox authors, variants of this form of words are found with Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius of Salamis, Cyril of Alexandria, the emperor Justinian, Romanos Melodos, John of Damascus, and Nikephoros of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup> Similar under-

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας παρθένου*. Conveniently edited by G. L. Dossetti, *Il Symbolo di Nicea e di Constantinopoli* (Rome, 1967), p. 246; H. Denzinger and A. Schoenmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (Barcelona, 1973), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem: *ἐξ ἁγίας Παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*, *Catechesis* 4.9, PG 33.465. Epiphanius of Salamis: *ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας Παρθένου*, *Ancoratus* 118.10, ed. K. Holl (Leipzig, 1915), p. 147; also in PG 43.232C, where numbered 119 and accompanied by an incorrect Latin translation; for a similar mistranslation, see e.g. the Latin version of the proceedings of the Council of Nicaea of 787, ed. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Amplissima Collectio*, 13.376; but for a different formulation see 119.10: *ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς δειπαρθένου διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου* (ed. Holl, p. 148; PG 43.233B). Cyril of Alexandria: *Contra Nestorianum* 1.8 (*A[cta] C[oncilio] O[ecumenico]* 1.1.6.29). Justinian: "ex Sancto Spiritu et sancta et gloriosa virgine et Dei genetrice Maria," *Collectio Avellana* 84.10 (*C[orpus] S[criptorum] E[cclesiasticorum] L[atinorum]* 35.323.5f).

standings are expressed by Nestorios, confessing in a letter to Pope Celestine that Christ "incarnatus est ex Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine"<sup>3</sup> and a number of Monophysite authors.<sup>4</sup>

In the West, however, it appears that this traditional formulation was replaced by the form now used. There is ample early evidence for a form along the lines of "natus ex Spiritu Sancto et ex Maria virgine,"<sup>5</sup> and Leo the Great, in his Tome, was quite clear that Jesus Christ "natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine," although the manuscript tradition of this work reveals emendations at this point, presumably to bring it into line with what later came to be generally accepted in the West.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, while the Gelasian sacramentary asserts that "incarnatum de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine," the word 'ex' occurs as a variant reading.<sup>7</sup> From Spain there is credal evidence from the sixth and seventh centuries for something like the primitive form of the creed,<sup>8</sup> while Ildephonsus of Toledo, following Augustine of Hip-

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Romanos Melodos: *Hymnes sur l'ancien et le nouveau testament*, ed. and trans. J. Grosdidier de Matons (Paris, 1965 = *Sources chrétiennes* 110) 17.10.9. John of Damascus: *Ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας ἀειπαρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου*, *The Orthodox Faith* 3.1, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 2 (Berlin/New York: 1973), p. 108.46-48. Nikephoros of Constantinople: *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus* 19 (PG 100.584C).

<sup>3</sup> *ACO* 1.2:13f.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.22 (ed. Chabot, vol. 2, pp. 196-203). See too a letter of representatives of the Church of Alexandria written in 497: "de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine" (*Collectio avellana* 102.11, ed. *CSEL* 35.471.25). According to Sebeos, an Armenian author of the seventh century, just as Abraham and Sarah begot Isaak, "so Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary," *Histoire d'Héraclius*, trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1904).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Niceta of Remesiana *de symbolo* (viz. *apostolorum*) 3, ed. A. E. Burn (Cambridge, 1905), p. 41, and Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio psalmi* 37.5 (*CSEL* 64.140). An author whose work is preserved under the name of Martin of Tours states that the Mediator was born "e Sancto Spiritu et Maria virgine" (*P[atrologia] L[atina]* 18.12C, but best edited by F. Stegmüller, "Das Trinitatssymbolum des heiligen Martin von Tours," pp. 151-64 in *Universitas*, Festschrift A. Stohr (Mainz, 1960), who suggests that Hilary was the author).

<sup>6</sup> *Epistula Leonis ad Flavianum*, *ACO* 2.2.25. The expression quoted occurs twice on this page; on the first occurrence one ms. emends 'et' to 'ex', while on the second there is another alteration. The manuscript tradition of the Greek version of this text, however, reveals no variants at this point (11).

<sup>7</sup> Ed. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 55. Compare Gregory the Great: "ex Sancto Spiritu et Maria virgine procesit" (*mor.* 11.70).

<sup>8</sup> The Third Council of Toledo (589) provides the form "incarnatus est de

po, could assert of Christ “natus est de Spiritu Sancto et virgine Maria.”<sup>9</sup> But a Spanish liturgical text has been preserved with the phrase “natum de Spiritu Sancto ex utero Mariae virginis,”<sup>10</sup> and Martin of Braga gives the form “natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine.”<sup>11</sup>

The clearest example of confusion in the West, however, occurs in the works of Augustine of Hippo. In his *Enchiridion*, Augustine affirms that the Son was born “de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine,”<sup>12</sup> and the same words are employed in the *De trinitate*.<sup>13</sup> Yet elsewhere, in the one sermon he asserts that Christ was both “natum de Spiritu Sancto ex virgine Maria” and “natum de Spiritu Sancto, et virgine Maria,”<sup>14</sup> while the “de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine” of another sermon has been altered by editors to read “ex Maria virgine.”<sup>15</sup> Augustine’s follower, Fulgentius of Ruspe, employs the form “de Spiritu Sancto ex virgine Maria,”<sup>16</sup> and this came to be accepted as the standard Western form.

It would be interesting to speculate as to why the West came to depart from the primitive form of the creed. Much of the evidence presented in the preceding two paragraphs relates to the *traditio symboli* at baptismal ceremonies, and we should certainly take cognizance of the possibility of the text having been influenced by the wording of early forms of the so-called Apostles’ Creed.<sup>17</sup>

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Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine” (ed. J. Vives, *Concilios Visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona, 1963), p. 113; the Fourth Council (633) the form “ex sancta gloriosa Dei genetrice virgine Maria” (ibid. p. 187).

<sup>9</sup> *Liber de cognitione baptismi* 40f (PL 96.129f), following Augustine *Enchiridion* 38.12 (PL 40.251f).

<sup>10</sup> *Missale mixtum*, PL 85.395A.

<sup>11</sup> *De correctione rusticorum* 15, ed. C. W. Barlow (New Haven, 1950), p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> 34.10 (PL 40.249).

<sup>13</sup> 15.26 (*C[orpus] C[hristianorum] S[eries] L[atina]* 50.527), followed by Bede, *Expositio actuum apostolorum* 10.38 (CCSL 121.54).

<sup>14</sup> *Serm.* 51.8,18 (PL 38.338, 343).

<sup>15</sup> *Serm.* 212.1 (PL 38.1059). At *serm.* 214.6 (PL 38.1068f), Augustine uses the expression “de Spiritu Sancto et Maria virgine” as the basis for some theological discussion.

<sup>16</sup> PL 65.825C.

<sup>17</sup> Which, in its standard form, runs at this point: “conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine.” On the tangled question of early creeds, con-

But it may be more worthwhile to consider whether this difference in credal formulations does not point to a difference in the understanding of the role of Mary in the Incarnation according to East and West. To be sure, the expressions “of the Holy Spirit and [of] the virgin Mary” and “of the Holy Spirit by the virgin Mary” are very similar, but even apparently small verbal differences may conceal major differences in belief. We need only consider the controversy as to whether the Son could be better described as “of one substance” [ὁμοούσιος] with the Father or “of similar substance” [ὁμοιούσιος] to him and perhaps more pertinently, the problems caused by the addition of the expression *filioque* in the West which, despite the fact that it only involves one word, has been held by Orthodox scholars to imply a serious misunderstanding of the internal dynamics of the Trinity.

It must be said that the form of words used in the East seems to imply a more active role for Mary, for by giving the Spirit and Mary equal weight, it suggests that Mary's role was somewhat greater than simply being acted on by the Spirit, as the Western wording implies. This explains the interest the East has shown in the psychological state of Mary at the Annunciation. As Leonid Ouspensky has pointed out, icons of this scene usually emphasize one of three moments: Mary's fear and perturbation at the apparition of Gabriel; her perplexity and prudence, indicated by her holding her hand before her breast, or her consent.<sup>18</sup> So it is that icons of the Annunciation showing the hesitation of Mary can reveal sophisticated psychological observation<sup>19</sup> and, as has been pointed out less precisely, that in the art of the Eastern Church the acquiescence of Mary is sometimes depicted separately from the arrival of Gabriel.<sup>20</sup>

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sult J. N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London, 1972); note, for example, the forms which occur in various translations of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (pp. 89-91). It may not be entirely out of place to draw attention to Mt 1.20: . . . τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἁγίου (= quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sanctus est, Vulgate).

<sup>18</sup>In Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, 2nd ed. (Crestwood, NY, 1982), p. 172.

<sup>19</sup>K. Weitzmann, in K. Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis and S. Radojčić, *Die Ikonen* (Herrsching, 1977), p. 27, with reference to a twelfth-century icon of Mt. Sinai.

<sup>20</sup>Gertrude Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* 1, Engl. trans. (London, 1971), p. 33 n.19, with reference to a twelfth-century illumination in a manuscript of the Homilies of the monk Jacobus.

Icons of this type may almost be taken as illustrations of stages in the dialogue between Gabriel and Mary which have long been a feature of Orthodox liturgy and preaching. Such a dialogue, in which Mary is initially described as a child [παῖς] who doubts Gabriel, occurs in the work of the sixth century Romanos Melodos. Another is found in a sermon of Sophronios of Jerusalem, while in another dialogue, preserved among the sermons of Germanos of Constantinople, Mary initially tells Gabriel in no uncertain terms to go away.<sup>21</sup> In the liturgy of the Orthodox Church, the Matins of the Annunciation contains a lengthy dialogue between the angel and the Theotokos which indicates that "Mary's answer to the angel was not a foregone conclusion. She could have refused. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

This understanding of the active role of Mary in the Incarnation is best expressed by the fourteenth century lay theologian Nicholas Kabasilas. In a work on the Annunciation, Nicholas suggests that "if [Mary] had not had faith and given her assent, God's plan for us would not have been put into operation," for the Incarnation only went ahead "after He saw that she had been persuaded and accepted what he proposed." Far from being a merely passive instrument of God, in Nicholas' view it was in Mary's power to veto the Incarnation by refusing to co-operate with his plan: "There was necessary for the Incarnation of the Word not only the Father and his Power, and the Son, but also the will and faith of the Virgin. If the all-holy one had withheld her will and faith, the plan could have proceeded no more than it would have without these three." Therefore, for Nicholas, Mary was a fellow-worker, or co-operator (συνεργός) with God.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup>Romanos: *Hymnes* 9. Sophronios: PG 87.3217-88. Germanos: PG 98.321-32, in which Mary's first words to Gabriel are scarcely encouraging: "Ἀπιθι πόλεως ἐμῆς καὶ πατρίδος, ἄνθρωπε ἄπιθι. See too Proklos of Constantinople (PG 65.721-57, with an additional dialogue between Mary and Joseph) and a work attributed to John Chrysostom (PG 60.755-60). In the preaching of the Annunciation, the biblical narrative of the dialogue between Gabriel and Mary is discussed by Basil of Seleucia (PG 85.444f), Antipater Bostrensis (PG 85.1777-84), Sophronios of Jerusalem (PG 87.3236-77), and Andrew of Crete (PG 97.893-912), although these sermons place no stress on Mary's feelings.

<sup>22</sup>Georges Florovsky, in the introduction to *Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, The Festal Menaion* (London, 1969); the dialogue is printed on pp. 449-57.

<sup>23</sup>Ed. and trans. M. Jugie, *Patrologia Orientalis* 20.487f. We may note that συνεργός is a word applied by some of the Fathers to members of the Trinity in their relationships with each other: Basil, *Adv. Eunomium* 5.5 (PG 29.760B, of the Father and the Son), Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 67 (PG 43.137C, Τρία συνεργά).

For the East, then, Mary has often been seen as an active participant in an Annunciation drama. The Christian West has been reluctant to see her in this light. Western liturgies, as evidenced by the propers given in the Roman missal for Lady Day and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer for the Annunciation, give no sign of interest in Mary's interior state, while late medieval and renaissance representations of the Annunciation, far from depicting the event as a drama in which Mary's consent had to be obtained, frequently show Gabriel in an attitude of reverence to Mary at the beginning of their discussion, as if to imply that its outcome was a foregone conclusion.<sup>24</sup> By way of contrast, one Western author gives the impression of having gone against this tendency. In his *De laudibus virginis matris*, the twelfth century Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux represents himself as addressing Mary at a point immediately following Luke 1.37 in the Gospel narrative. It is a powerful piece of writing, and deserves quotation *in extenso*:

You have heard, Virgin, what is to be done and you have heard how it is to be done. Each is wonderful, each worthy of joy. Rejoice, daughter of Zion, and be most glad, daughter of Jerusalem. And as you have heard news bringing delight and happiness, let us in our turn hear from you the happy answer we seek, so that our bones which have been humbled may exult. You have heard, I say, what is to be done, and you have believed; now believe as well what you have heard about the way in which it is to be done. You have heard that you will conceive and bear a son; you have heard that this will not be brought about through a man, but through the Holy Spirit. The angel is awaiting an answer, for it is time for him to go back to the One who sent him. We as well are awaiting for your word of mercy, O Lady, we whom the sentence of damnation wretchedly oppresses. And behold, you are offered the price of our salvation: we will be freed immediately, if you conceive. We have all been made by the eternal Word of God, and behold, we die; but by your brief answer we are made again, and called back to life. Tearful Adam asks this of you, O good virgin, exiled from Paradise with his wretched offspring. Abraham, David, the other holy fathers, indeed your own fathers, who also live in the region of the shadow of death, implore this of you. The whole world, prostrate at your knees, is waiting — and properly so, since consolation for the wretched, redemption for the captives, freedom for the damned, and finally

<sup>24</sup>Schiller, *Iconography* 1 ill. 102-21.

salvation for all the children of Adam, for all your race, depend on what you say. Virgin, give your answer quickly. O Lady, reply with the word which earth, those below and those above are waiting for. The King and Lord of all has greatly longed for your beauty, but he desires your affirmative answer just as much because he has purposed to save the world through it. You have pleased him in silence, but now you will please him more by speech, since He Himself cries out from heaven: "O beautiful among women, let me hear your voice!" (Song of Songs 1.7). . . And so give your answer quickly to the angel, or rather, answer the Lord through the angel. Answer with a word and receive the Word, offer a word and conceive the divine Word, utter a passing word and embrace the eternal Word. Why are you afraid? Believe, proclaim and receive. . . . Blessed virgin, open your heart to faith, your lips to proclamation, and your inner parts to the Creator. Behold, the One desired by all peoples stands outside, knocking at the entrance. O, what if he should pass by as you delay, and you should again begin to seek in sorrow Him whom your soul loves. Arise, run, open! Arise through faith, run through devotion, open by proclamation!<sup>25</sup>

A commentator has noted that in this passage, Bernard's literary skill "creates a sense of expectancy, of urgency, of the momentous significance of Mary's decision. The whole world hangs in the balance as Mary ponders her reply."<sup>26</sup> More generally, Bernard's impassioned language is evidence for a desire, which was more frequently to be expressed in late medieval and Counter-Reformation piety, to imagine oneself as present at an incident described in the Bible. But I doubt whether he steps outside the traditional Western way of thinking about Mary at the Annunciation. Bernard offers an intense meditation on the importance of her *fiat*, but the passage quoted above provides no hint that Mary is likely to do anything other than give her consent, however delayed this may be. A similar position seems to have been reached, strange as it may seem, by Catherine, or Katie, Booth, a daughter of the founder of the Salvation Army, General Booth, who asserted in a devotional address: "The free agency of man is a cardinal truth accepted by the whole church. We are all free to accept or reject

<sup>25</sup>*In laudibus virginis matris* 4.8, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, *Bernardi opera* 4.53f.

<sup>26</sup>Andrew Louth, "St. Bernard and Our Lady," *Downside Review* 110 (1983) 172.



God's plan for us. The whole Bible proves this. Mary is no exception to the rule. Mary might have refused. . . . The angel Gabriel was sent, not only to make the annunciation, but to gain Mary's concurrence or consent, to fall in with God's will."<sup>27</sup> But although these thinkers move some distance towards the Eastern point of view, the interest taken by such Eastern preachers as Germanos of Constantinople in Mary's qualms is entirely lacking even with them.

The two different forms of the creed may therefore be related to two quite different understandings of the role of Mary in the Incarnation: for the East, cognizant of the possibility of her having gone against God's will, she has played a more dynamic role than she has for the West. But perhaps we can go a little further than this, even if only to speculate. The early Alexandrian writer, Origen, suggested that Mary was guilty of actual sin in her life, arguing that she had been scandalized and given way to disbelief at the time of the Crucifixion and quoting Romans 3.3 on the universality of sin amongst humans.<sup>28</sup> John Chrysostom, commenting on Matthew 12.46-49, accused her of vanity and arrogance.<sup>29</sup> Needless to say, there has been a strong tradition in Eastern Christianity that Mary was free of sin.<sup>30</sup> But it is at the very least suggestive that Chrysostom's near contemporary, Augustine, was feeling his way towards, even if not actually reaching, an understanding of Mary's having been without sin, which was later to find expression in the western doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. In a famous passage of the *de natura et gratia*, Augustine argued that all the holy men and women from Abel to Joseph were sinners, with the exception of Mary, "for we know that more grace will have been bestowed on her from every side to conquer sin."<sup>31</sup> It may be that with this enigmatic state-

<sup>27</sup>The Maréchale, quoted in John de Satgé, *Mary and the Christian Gospel* (London, 1976), p. 62, in the context of an extremely interesting evaluation of its subject from an evangelical perspective. See, on the title 'Maréchale', Catherine Bramwell-Booth, *Catherine Booth* (London, 1970), p. 371.

<sup>28</sup>*Die Homilien zu Lukes* 17, ed. Max Rauer (Berlin, 1959), pp. 105-07.

<sup>29</sup>In Matthew 44.1.

<sup>30</sup>In addition to such major figures in the Greek tradition as Andrew of Crete and John of Damascus, one thinks of Ephraim the Syrian: I. Ortiz de Urbana, "La Mariologia nei padri siriaci," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 1 (1935) 100-13 at 107f.

<sup>31</sup>Ei plus gratiae conlatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum; de

ment we have already one of the chief characteristics of Western Mariology, its emphasis on the Virgin as the recipient of God's grace. One manifestation of this occurs in that very Western expression of piety, the Angelus, which moves from the angelic salutation, occurring in the form "Hail Mary, full of grace!" to a concluding prayer which begins "Pour thy grace into our hearts." The Western stress on Mary as having been '*gratia plena*' (Luke 1.28) may be contrasted with the attitude of the Byzantine author Theophylact of Ochrid, according to whom there was nothing remarkable about Mary's being *κεχαριτωμένη*, for there were many others who found favor with God; what set Mary apart was the promise that she should conceive.<sup>32</sup> So it is that an Eastern emphasis on Mary's synergism can go hand-in-hand with a weak doctrine of, or a denial of, the Immaculate Conception,<sup>33</sup> and that, if we seek a genuine Western counterpart to the Eastern icons of the Annunciation discussed above, we will turn, not merely to Western depictions of this scene, but to such a painting as Velasquez' "Immaculate Conception," now hung in the National Gallery in London.<sup>34</sup> In this remarkably beautiful and haunting picture, Mary is portrayed as a timeless figure of the utmost purity and serenity, her hands clasped in prayer and with more than a hint of subservience to the will of God in her downcast face, her eyes apparently closed.<sup>35</sup> She is a figure, one feels, who could never doubt or question, and as such gives perfect expression to the passivity of Mary implied in the Western version of the creed. Whether this understanding of Mary should be regarded as theologically desirable is not mine to say.

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*nat et grat* 36.43 (= CSEL 60.263f).

<sup>32</sup>PG 123.701D-04A, understanding *κεχαριτωμένη* to mean much the same as 'having found favor with God.' Need it be pointed out that the Vulgate's *gratia plena* is not the happiest translation for this word? Old Latin versions of the Bible provide *gratificata* and *benedicta*. A modern Western theologian sums up the roles of grace and Mary's free will in her *fiat* in these terms: "The divine motherhood of the blessed Virgin is therefore God's grace alone, and her own act, inseparably," Karl Rahner, *Mary Mother of the Lord* (New York, 1963), p. 61.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Jean Daniélou, in his introduction to M. Lot-Borodine, *La Déification de l'homme* (Paris, 1970), p. 15.

<sup>34</sup>Reproduced in J. Lopez-Roy, *Velasquez* (London, 1978), p. 22.

<sup>35</sup>One recalls that Dante, in his *Purgatorio*, sees Mary at the Annunciation as providing a model of humility to those guilty of pride (10.40-45).

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*In Memoriam:*  
†Nicon D. Patrinos (1911-1989)

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THE REV. DR. NICON PATRINACOS WAS BORN IN LACONIA, GREECE, where he received his primary and secondary education. He received his teaching diploma at the age of nineteen. Six years later he was ordained a celibate priest.

Fr. Patrinos studied theology at the School of Theology of the University of Athens. In 1937 he went to Australia to serve the Church. There he continued his studies at the University of Queensland where he received his A. B. degree and A. M. degree in 1947 in philosophy and psychology. For his doctor's degree, he went to Oxford, England, from which he graduated in 1950.

In the same year, he came to the U.S. and became pastor of St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church in St. Louis. At the same time, he taught psychology and religion at Washington University.

In 1953 Fr. Patrinos was appointed Dean of Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology and Professor of Psychology, a position he held for only a little more than a year. Nevertheless, he instituted policies and programs which were to serve Holy Cross in subsequent years.

Subsequently, Fr. Patrinos served the Church of our Savior in Rye, New York, and taught psychology and philosophy at St. Basil's Academy. As Ecumenical Officer of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, he served on the executive committee of the National Council of Churches and was active in the World Council of Churches. He was involved in the dialogue with several churches and co-chaired the first meeting between Orthodox and Black leaders. He also served as chairman of the Archdiocese Supreme Board of Education.

Fr. Patrinos contributed numerous articles to scholarly journals and religious periodicals. He served as editor of the *Orthodox*

*Observer* and was founder and first editor of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*.

His literary works also included the following: *The Individual and His Orthodox Church* (1970), *The Orthodox Liturgy* (1976), *A Dictionary of Greek Orthodoxy* (1984), *The Orthodox Church on Birth Control* (1975), and *All That a Greek Orthodox Should Know* (1986).

All who knew Fr. Patrinos were spiritually enriched and intellectually challenged by him. Those who studied under him have always considered it a privilege and an honor. May his memory be eternal.

George C. Papademetriou  
Hellenic College/Holy Cross

#### †IOANNES KOLITSARAS (1903-1989)

IOANNES KOLITSARAS WAS BORN IN NEOHORION, MESSOLONGHI, Greece. He was left an orphan at an early age and was cared for by his relatives. From a young age he was influenced by the Zoe movement, especially by Archimandrite Serapheim Papakostas who was a theologian-teacher in his hometown school.

Upon graduation from high school he entered the Theological School at the University of Athens and was gainfully employed by the Zoe organization to pay for his studies. Following his graduation in 1924, he was assigned as teacher in the secondary school system. In 1925 he was transferred to the Seminary-Teacher's School of Messolonghi and in 1930 to the Vellas Seminary-Teacher's School of Ioanna, Epeiros.

In 1945, he resigned from his teaching position and dedicated himself completely to the work of the Zoe Brotherhood. He served as editor of the periodical *Zoe* and was a contributor to several Christian periodicals, including *Aktines*, *Zoe tou Paidiou*, and *Hellenike Christianike Agoge* of which he was the founder and first editor, plus many other religious periodicals.

He authored numerous books, especially for the catechetical instruction of children and the general enlightenment of Orthodox Christians. His works on the interpretation of Holy Scripture and commentaries for the general public are still of the greatest value.

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to the application in which the full range of the ministry comes into play. Ultimately, ministry and theology join together to guide humankind to *theosis*, endowing the individual with true consciousness of choice to grow dynamically and realize one's true self in God. The pastor in his ministry has for his primary task to help the faithful make the right choice to grow to *theosis*. The priest serves as God's instrument, a human mediator acting for the "sole mediator" who is Christ. Put in Father Allen's own summarizing words, "In the ministry of counsel, then, the pastoral counselor is indeed present to introduce persons to themselves, to their *true* selves. This represents growth" (p. 200). The pastoral counselor must not forget his Christian role of reconciler of others and himself to Christ through a life of unceasing prayer.

*The Ministry of the Church* should serve as a timely reminder and guide to clergy of their own distinctive roles in the life of the Church and to the laity of their distinctive roles in that same Church. Only in this way can the special character of each's unique contribution be understood within a proper Orthodox Christian framework.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*Patterns of Episcopal Leadership*. Ed. Gerald Fogarty. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989. Pp. 306. \$29.95, cloth.

In the renewal of the Church in the present age seeking to bring it into line with the heritage of the undivided Church of the first millenium, the factors of personality and leadership, under the Holy Spirit, play no small part. Indeed, in the western hemisphere both Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism have had to plow new paths in developing the synodical and collegial forms necessary if the Church is to be true to its timeless mandate. This relatively concise volume by a corps of excellent American scholars provides a very helpful collection of perspectives on the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

The introduction by Father Fogarty outlines quite concisely the role of the United States hierarchy relative to its own flock and to its relationship with Rome. The essays on eighteenth and nineteenth century bishops, largely English and French, disclose

an approach to the development of the hierarchy quite different from what Catholicism has been used to in this last century. The missionary spirit and the grappling with the frontier are a noble record of spiritual struggle and faith. The period of the immigrant Church, spanning the turn of the twentieth century, but not without its effects today, chronicles key bishops of Baltimore, New York and Cincinnati, including an essay on John Ireland of Saint Paul who was not only important in the sad history of Orthodox-Catholic relationships, but also in giving a character to the controversies about the heresy called "Americanism." The last section, entitled "Romanization and Modernization," treats such important figures as O'Connell of Boston, Spellman of New York, and Cody of Chicago. Other interesting figures treated are Hallinan of Atlanta, who was so influential at Vatican II, Riordan of San Francisco, and Kelley of Oklahoma City.

While the anthology does not try to treat all of the bishops, and the diversity of authors does not give a coherence of either style or ecclesiological perspective, the very sampling makes for a rich diversity of reading and historical insight. Individual bishops have often had more influence, for good or for ill, than either their self image or the ecclesiology of the Church would lead one to expect. Through these varied stories of the people of God, disclosed through insight into their leaders, one becomes aware of the fascinating role of the Holy Spirit in American culture so different from the cultures from which Catholics have come to these shores.

*Brother Jeffrey Gros, FSC*

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.



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## Reviews

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*Pomfret: The Golden Decade.* By George Poulos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988. Pp. xii + 320. Illustrated. \$24.95, paper.

In 1987 the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. As the only *Greek* Orthodox theological school in the Americas, this date marked a milestone in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church in this country, and its significance was noted in various ways. Father George Poulos's compilation, which he calls *Pomfret: The Golden Decade*, is, in a real sense, a permanent part of that fiftieth anniversary celebration. It is meant to remind readers that the first ten years of the institution, originally known as the Greek Theological Institute, were geographically and historically located in Pomfret, Connecticut, and that those were very difficult years but years that were to prove quite fruitful in the development of Greek Orthodox theological education in the United States under the leadership of that late charismatic Bishop (later Archbishop) Athenagoras Cavadas of blessed memory, a tough but loving disciplinarian unequivocally dedicated to the promotion of the Orthodox faith, to the mastery of Greek language, history, and literature, and to the training of clergy to serve the parishes of the United States. Even though this book is dedicated to the men of Pomfret, it is quite obviously about the great accomplishments of Bishop Athenagoras Cavadas who, together with the late Patriarch Athenagoras, was co-founder of the Greek seminary, and who served as director of that school during the crucial Pomfret years.

The tiny village of Pomfret (1500 inhabitants?) in Windham County was incorporated in 1713, after having been purchased from

the Indians in 1686, and was named after the town of the same name in Yorkshire, England, the ancestral home of the late governor and senator of Massachusetts, Leverett Saltonstall. The Clark estate, on which the Greek Theological School was established, was originally purchased to be an orphanage, but the failure of that project and the intervention of World War II which made it impossible to send students to Athens or Chalke, and the prior failure of St. Athanasios Seminary in Astoria, made it imperative that candidates for the priesthood be trained in the United States where they would serve. In retrospect, the purchase in 1932 at \$35,000 of the Clark estate, would seem a natural and logical step, but in the thirties uncertainty and unpredictability characterized a Church that was only stabilized under Archbishop (later Patriarch) Athenagoras. It was an encyclical of July 30, 1937, that announced the opening of the Theological School on September 15, 1937, and it was to function in Pomfret till 1947 when the whole operation was moved to Brookline.

Father Poulos's book is not really Father Poulos's book. It is a grand ten-year book, to which many others have contributed — too numerous to list here, and which he has organized in readable fashion. It is richly illustrated with uncountable photographs of Pomfret and the people who made that place work. If anything comes across in this deep appreciation of those years (this book is not a professional, historical account in the academic sense), it is the dedication and self-sacrifice of all who contributed to the establishment and continuation of Holy Cross — to the hierarchs, the clergy, the faculty, the students, and the support personnel. All made real sacrifices to make the place work at a critical period in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church in the Americas. *Pomfret: The Golden Decade* contains excerpts from the Dean's reports, budget statements, personal reflection from some of its prominent and not so prominent graduates, reproductions of pages from its yearbooks and catalogues, its rules, regulations, and by-laws, and a host of other materials that will surely make alive again the Pomfret of 1937-1947 and bring back fond memories for those who knew Pomfret first hand. It is, in a sense, a written recording of nostalgia.

But Perhaps Fr. Constantine J. Andrews '42 expresses the essence of the Pomfret experience best in his brief reminiscence, when he records that it was *hieroprepeia*, which became the motto

of the School, which was the prime thing that was learned at Pomfret, as taught by Bishop Athenagoras: "to conduct one's self in a manner befitting a holy person, one worthy of reverence." It was this ideal that the Seminary at Pomfret encapsulated and this heritage which it bequeathed to all the seminarians who followed.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*Faith for a Lifetime. A Spiritual Journey.* By Archbishop Iakovos (with William Proctor). New York: Doubleday, 1988. Pp. 182. \$14.95, cloth.

The author of this present review must confess that he is "prejudiced" towards Archbishop Iakovos, the brilliant spiritual leader of the Greek Orthodox Church in this country. Because it is with feelings of true filial affection for His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos that he writes this review. To be sure, not all that the Archbishop writes in his book finds me in complete agreement with him. On the other hand, any objective reader will find this book inspiring, revealing, moving, and didactic in many ways. However, the present book does not truly show the depth of the excellent mind of the Archbishop. It does, however, reveal his long "spiritual journey," as the subtitle of the book states. But I venture to suggest that it is also a revealing, open mirror of the Archbishop's own personal struggle, spiritual efforts, personal agonies, failures, victories, in short, his own personal history. And the Archbishop does that very well indeed.

His Eminence has been characterized as being brilliant, hard-working, creative, effective, paternal, and forgiving. This characterization is quite true. But a man of his dynamic personality and active involvement in ecclesiastical, political, and social affairs could not but be also controversial. Some think that he is aloof, inaccessible, and strong-willed. The present book, however, dispels these notions.

In the book three things moved me: the Archbishop's repeated reference to his mother, a pious, humble and loving mother who instilled in him unfailing devotion to Christ and his Church. Second, his most respectful reference to his "Geronta," his own spiritual

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## REPORT TO HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

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### Commission: Archdiocesan Theological Agenda

#### INTRODUCTION

YOUR EMINENCE, THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION WHICH WAS appointed by you to explore the needs of our Church as we move into the third millenium of the Christian Faith, and in particular the needs of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in this hemisphere, have prepared their report to you and hereby present it for your consideration.

Since our first meeting on November 13, 1986, we have met six times for the reading of papers, discussion and efforts at formulation of an assessment of the realities and challenges which face us as we stand on the threshold of the year 2000. Our chairman, Metropolitan Silas of New Jersey and President of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, has directed the work of the Commission so as to allow a full range of discussion and debate. As a result, we have come to a consensus of understanding, which we now present to Your Eminence for your consideration.

Much which has been said and scrutinized by the members of our Commission cannot be included here. So that Your Eminence may be able to sense some of the nature of our deliberations, we are including as an appendix to this report copies of the minutes of our meetings.

We have decided to present the results of our deliberations in four parts:

#### A. The Faith Crisis

- B. The Parish
- C. Leadership Issues
- D. Social Realities

together with a prologue and a conclusion.

THE FUTURE OF ORTHODOXY  
IN THE GREEK ORTHODOX ARCHDIOCESE  
OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA:  
A REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S COMMISSION FOR  
AN ARCHDIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL AGENDA

Prologue

In his keynote to the 1986 Clergy-Laity Congress in Dallas, Texas, entitled "Rekindling an Orthodox Awareness," His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos addressed the issue of a present crisis of identity in the Orthodox Church due to a weakening of ethnic, ecclesial, and spiritual bonds in a secular, pluralistic society. Calling for a Christ-centered rekindling of the Orthodox awareness, the Archbishop challenged the parishes, dioceses, and all departments of the Archdiocese to work toward strengthening the Orthodox identity by a) "growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" (2 Pt 3.18, the theme of the Dallas Clergy-Laity Congress), b) maturing corporately as members of the body of Christ, and c) leading knowledgeable and conscious Orthodox lives wherever God has placed Orthodox Christians.

The Archbishop's Commission for an Archdiocesan Theological Agenda, appointed by His Eminence after the Dallas Clergy-Laity Congress, and chaired by His Excellency Silas, Metropolitan of New Jersey and President of Hellenic College/Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, was assigned the task of reflecting on the factors behind the identity crisis, formulating clear responses and offering recommendations pertaining to the priorities of the Archdiocese. The present report represents the labors of this Commission meeting during 1986-88, based on three fundamental questions: a) What are the abiding goals of the Church? b) What is the present reality of the Church? and c) By what priorities and means can the Church be guided from the present reality toward its goals? This report adopts a wholistic and positive approach. Given the strength and stability of our Archdiocese, the identity

crisis should not be taken in an alarmist sense but as an opportunity for the Church's continued growth and mission in the world.

### A. The Faith Crisis

#### 1. *The Abiding Goals of the Church*

An assessment of the Church's contemporary situation must be anchored on a clear perception of the abiding goals of the Church. The all-inclusive goal of the Church is God's call to *theosis* — the transformation of the world into the kingdom of God and the transfiguration of the whole cosmos in divine glory. The Church itself is the "first fruits" of salvation of the world from the domination of the devil, sin, and corruption, by the redeeming work of Christ and the sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit, being concretely manifested as new quality of life, the new creation. The process of theosis may be seen as taking place in three inter-related spheres:

a) *The Goal of Personal Transfiguration* concentrates on the life of each Orthodox Christian. There can be no realization of the kingdom unless there is a personal response and a personal appropriation of God's saving, redeeming, and sanctifying grace. This goal is realized by the following: a personal faith commitment; personal and conscious participation in the Liturgy, worship, and prayer; personal obedience to the will of God; personal growth in love; personal development of the image and likeness of God within each of us toward Christ-likeness.

b) *The Goal of Corporate Life in Christ* concentrates on the shared life of the Church, where each person is an integral part of the body of Christ, and clergy and laity alike live their lives in relationship to one another as brothers and sisters in Christ, obtaining the meaning of life and actualizing the life of the kingdom of God within the common life of the Church. In this context the personal element is no longer individualistic or private, but finds its own fulfillment in membership in the body of Christ, the Church. The central means by which the corporate goal is achieved are the sacraments, especially the Eucharist; the governance and guidance of the Church in the spirit of Christ; the preaching and teaching ministries; and, the life of mutual love, forgiveness, care, help, and acts of fellowship.

c) *The Goal of Outreach* concentrates on the loving concern



of God and his Church for the life of the world and for all creation. This loving concern takes three forms: mission, so as to evangelize the world and bring it into the saving realm of the Church; philanthropy, so as to address the needs of individuals, peoples, and nations, suffering from immediate ills or from lack of urgent necessities; and social concern, so as to address the structural and environmental aspects of societies and nature which act as vehicles of good or evil. The Church always seeks to strengthen those forces which support the values and ways of God, and to struggle against those forces which promote the demonic and dehumanizing.

The above goals are inseparable. None can be completely fulfilled without the others. The personal life in Christ cannot be realized outside the corporate reality of the Church, which it does not live for itself alone but for the salvation of the whole world. In each generation the Church effectively fulfils its mission to the degree that it achieves the above goals. Therefore, the Church must ask itself time and again: How do our actual priorities reflect the above goals? What social forces and cultural factors impede the realization of these goals? What spiritual and practical strategies can the Church set in place to counteract the negative forces and to fulfil its goals in positive ways?

## *2. The Contemporary Crisis of Faith*

As we reflect on the present and future situation of our Church in the Americas, we recognize that the cultural environment of the Greek Orthodox in this hemisphere is without historical precedent. We are an ethnic and religious minority in an open, secular society with powerful claims upon all, especially the young. Long-standing historical and sociological forces (secularization, the technological revolution, pluralism, the impact of the media and entertainment industries, and other) have during our generation brought about rapid and radical changes in personal and social values (selfish individualism, family instability, divorce, promiscuity, abortion, substance abuse, consumerism, pornography, and others). The results have been breakdown in community, breakdown in commonly accepted ethical principles, and breakdown in personal integrity. Despite the resurgence of some religious affiliations, western society is on the whole marked by a *cultural crisis of faith*, that is, a wholesale drifting away from traditional religious and moral

values which now has become a sociological condition affecting all religious groups. Barring unforeseen dramatic changes in the course of history, this process is likely to continue. Consider, for example, how the public is divided over the issue of abortion, how public education is not able to address the question of values, and how an average young person is minimally influenced by his or her religious community as compared to society at large.

In this free, pluralistic society *the Orthodox Church must take upon itself the prime responsibility for maintaining and strengthening the Orthodox identity among its members both as an intrinsic goal as well as a presupposition for effective mission in the world.* Up to now ethnicity has played a major role and has given strength and cohesion to the identity of the Greek Orthodox Church. But with the weakening of ethnic ties due to various factors of sociological assimilation, most notably interfaith marriages, changes have occurred and problems have been created. The offspring of interfaith marriages, of converts, and of others already culturally assimilated, will continue to drift away unless they become linked to the Orthodox Church with clear ecclesial and spiritual bonds. In a similar way traditional attachment to religious customs and forms (formalism) has contributed to the perpetuity of the Church, especially in homogeneous social environments. But in the modern, open, and radically changing world, where novelty rather than tradition seems to capture the imagination of people, the formal faith and loyalty of religious adherents cannot be taken for granted. The contemporary crisis of faith can be countered at its roots by raising the consciousness of the whole Church to the abiding goals of the Church and by placing these goals at the center of our thinking, deciding, and planning for the future. A new spiritual vision must be set to work among clergy and laity alike, not by means of high-sounding promotional statements or radical institutional changes, but by means of a conscious, deliberate, and consistent focus on the true goals and priorities of the Church.

The fundamental response to the cultural crisis of faith must begin with a full acknowledgment of the principle that *the faith commitment has more and more become a matter of personal choice than of social or cultural heritage.* This means that Orthodox Christians must be both challenged and helped to move beyond religious nominalism to a conscious choosing of the Orthodox way of life based on personal knowledge of the Orthodox Faith and personal

experience of its value amidst the problems of everyday life. In this perspective three interrelated objectives are crucial:

a) *Clarification of the Truths of the Orthodox Faith.* Clarifying the Orthodox Faith means lifting up the fundamental truths of Orthodoxy, including the centrality of Christ, the unique understanding of God and salvation, the wholistic view of humanity and nature, the meaning of the Eucharist, the insights of Orthodox spirituality, and all those elements which constitute the fulness of Christian truth and on which the Orthodox Church takes its stand. These truths, serving as the guiding light in all our thoughts and actions, must become the conscious focus of preaching, teaching, meetings, conferences, clergy-laity congresses, administrative polity, church departments, and parish life.

b) *Nurture of Living Faith.* The task of rekindling the Orthodox awareness cannot be accomplished simply by dry, academic, and formal procedures. The clarification and application of the Orthodox truths must be accomplished in the context of living faith — a personal faith inspired by prayer, enlivened by a mystical sense of communion with the risen Christ, and communicated with an evangelical spirit as a heralding of the good news. A true evangelical spirit keeps alive the horizon of living faith by which we apprehend that the risen Christ is present in the Church guiding us in our education, spiritual formation, liturgical life, moral and social concerns, youth programs, administration, and finances.

c) *Creation of a Supportive Environment.* People need not only to be stirred to a positive decision of faith and commitment, but also to be helped and supported in that decision by a network of Christian relationships. They need a Christian social environment and concrete ways by which to live their Orthodox faith in counterbalance to the pervasive secular milieu of jobs, schools, media, recreation, and the like. People must be taught how to pray, to come to the sacrament of Holy Confession, to read the Scriptures and edifying books. They also need to establish personal relationships with one another through parish activities, organizations, conferences, camps, service projects, and support groups, all guided by an Orthodox vision of faith and life.

The overall answer to the cultural crisis of faith is a personal approach to the truths and values of the Orthodox faith. By personal is meant an internalization of these truths and values so that they may be held with a conscious personal conviction. To sustain

the Orthodox identity we can no longer count on the spiritual investments of the past, that is to say, simply on the power of tradition and formal habits. We must also generate new spiritual investments ourselves in this secular but thirsting society by means of a spiritual rekindling of Orthodox souls with the grace and love of Christ.

## B. The Parish

Studying the nature of our communities, and why people become or cease to be members of them, requires that we describe the parish, not only theologically, but sociologically, as well. It is necessary, together with the doctrinally and spiritually founded understanding of the parish, to understand it, as well as a complex and diverse collection of interacting groups and individuals who have as a common denominator commitment to the Orthodox Christian faith, and to a greater or lesser degree, a commonly shared cultural heritage. Within this complex social reality, the centrality, influence and significance of parish life varies from group to group and from individual to individual.

The character of the parish is voluntary because people determine the depth and extent of their participation in its organized life. The voluntary nature of the parish demands that we must carefully attempt to relate revelation and Christian tradition to people's experience by being sensitive to their diverse needs. This, however, cannot be done unless we succeed to activate the ministry of the laity by which the whole church, through a variety of approaches, will contribute to the upbuilding of the parish. The thrust of preaching and teaching in the parish must be toward the meaningfulness of faith in today's life. Our presbyters should be encouraged and helped to shape their ministry so as to personalize belief and encourage the ministry of all to all.

### 1. *An Empirical Assessment of Our Parish Life*

Parishioners find meaning and respond positively to parish life on the basis of the following factors: liturgical life and preaching; the success of the parish in helping members deal practically with their concerns, especially their concerns about their children; a participatory style of leadership; and an active quality to the parish, i.e. "there is much going on."

The reality is that there are many parishioners who do not find their parishes helpful or meaningful in their lives. They are unhappy with the liturgical life of the parish, they are dissatisfied with the quality of preaching, they do not find much assistance in addressing personal issues, they often find the administrative life of the church authoritarian or closed, and parish life frequently limited in activities. As our people become more educated and more cosmopolitan, they are looking for more persuasive preaching and more prayerful liturgy than they once needed. It is an interesting phenomenon that just when presbyters have become more sophisticated and sensitive in their pastoral ministry, the laity have raised their levels of expectations.

This calls for an assessment of our parish life on the basis of the social realities we now face as a Church.

a) *Parish Relationships* are a major and increasing problem in the local church. Like many relationships, they are undergoing serious changes. From a cultural perspective, it is a fact that we are no longer as homogeneous as we used to be. This, however, must be seen as a challenge that invites us to use the diverse experience of our people for the enriching of our parish life, since in Christ all historical, natural and physical differences are overcome. A parish must be prepared to deal with the many changes that take place in the church, the country and the local area. This does not mean that crises in the future will not occur, but a community that devotes time to attending to relationships among its members will not be overcome as easily by these crises. Ours is a theology and ecclesiology of persons in relationship. That vision of truth must be consciously practiced in our parish life.

b) *Age Distribution* influences the nature of our parish life. There is a shift in the age distribution of the general population. It is a fact that ever since the mid-sixties the birthrate has been falling off. How does this affect our parishes? It is likely that people will continue to have fewer children. The largest percentage of the people will be in their forties and fifties.

Persons in certain age categories are more likely to become involved in parish functions than those in other age groups. Young people between the ages of seven and eighteen tend to have a high level of group participation whether in school, parish, or club. If the parish does not provide opportunities for involvement, young people will look for other outlets since the drive "to belong" is

strong in this age group.

People between the ages of 18 to 30 are in a low group-participation category. It is difficult for them to become involved in any group or organization, whether religious or secular. Because of the many demands made on their time, the type of parish involvement that will prove most successful is the one that asks only limited and temporary commitment.

The next age group is between the ages of 30 to 50. This age group is most likely to volunteer for parish organizations and assume leadership positions.

In the next 20 years more people will be in this 30-50 age bracket than ever before. This will influence parish life. If a parish has nothing to offer these people, they will go elsewhere. Once they get involved in other organizations, perhaps elected to office in these groups, it will be difficult to entice them back to parish functions.

Finally, there are the older parishioners, those over 50 years old. What is unique about this age group is that they usually join only those groups they belonged to in their earlier years. They are still willing to belong to groups but do not become leaders or join new groups.

As the percentage of older people continues to grow, the parish leaders will have to assess methods of utilizing their rich resources and experiences. This then will probably be the complexion of the typical parish in the years ahead — fewer young and more middle-aged and older people. This change in age distribution will influence parish life, and leaders must become aware of some of the implications so they can plan for them well in advance: a) Competition may arise among parishes or parish groups; b) Conservatism: because of an older membership, parishes in the future may tend to stress traditions more than changes; c) Educational shift: with fewer children and young people, the educational emphasis may shift toward adults. Here we must work hard because adults want more than a child's understanding and experience of their faith, one that relates a growing knowledge of the Lord found in prayer to a growing sense of concern and care for the needs of other people. Adult people are looking for a religious experience that speaks to the needs, crises, and desires of their adult life.

c) *Marriage Patterns* are changing and these changing patterns severely influence parish life. People are choosing to marry later

in life, if at all. Once married, they are likely to have one or two children at the most. The consequence for the parish is to be composed of more single adults, more older parents with small children and more extended families. Many couples will have children later in life, after both mother and father have completed their schooling and have become established in their careers. This means that these couples will be better equipped not only to participate in parish groups but to lead them. But that will happen only if the parish speaks to their needs and expectations. Since both parents are likely to be working full-time, the little time left over from the job and family will be more jealously apportioned. The enormous increase in mixed marriages is the most significant reality to face our Church life. It will be discussed in detail below, in part four of this report. It is the most significant social reality affecting our parish life and must be addressed honestly and realistically.

d) *The Changing Spirit of Parish Leadership* is an important factor in parish life. Any authoritarian exercise of leadership in our communities contradicts the essential democratic spirit of our society and consequently produces tension or even alienation of people from the faith community. The desired leadership must be a *facilitating* one which implies that it provides the place, the occasion and the motivation for authentic Christian worship and service by activating the gifts of all God's people and providing a framework for their unceasing active presence in the life of the parish.

Our churches must become personal and intimate communities sustained by the grace of God and growing in faith through acts of love for God's creation and humanity at large. Some of our parishes are suffering from the syndrome of 'anonymity', i.e., people feel alone and unrecognized in these communities.

A remedy against this serious problem is the development of small, more familiar worshiping and sharing groups within the parish. People need the support and friendship of others they know personally if they are going to remain active members of the parish. In small groups it is easier for people to express themselves more intimately and trustingly, to make connections between common tradition and their very particular situations, and to feel more personal support for their commitment and for living a life of faith.

Our churches, with their strong ethnic and cultural heritage and values, well served this need of our people to belong and be

personally involved in the past, but the increasing diversity of our faithful and the impact of the surrounding culture have begun to loosen the ties that formerly bound the parishioners together. We must recapture and nurture the spirit of "belongingness" in our parishes. We must find and utilize additional new ways to reunite our people by recognizing that persons with common interests like to spend time sharing with others of the same mind or experience. Without a common interest or shared concern, people will not come together in small groups.

However, the effectiveness of these groups presupposes the training of their leaders so that they may assure full participation, avoid domination by some members and keep the groups from becoming aimless. In addition, we urgently need good printed materials that will touch on matters of importance, offer necessary information, and open up possibilities of prayer, discussion and action.

Thus, as language, cultural, or security needs become less decisive in the formation of the parish consciousness of our people, we must recognize the importance of common interest and shared values as factors that help the people to come together. It is important to emphasize that as our people lose their cultural heritage, they will suffer more and more from American religious minimalism, and as a result they may not be able to recognize why they have to travel twenty or thirty minutes in order to go to an Orthodox church and not to go to the Roman Catholic or Protestant church nearby since, "we all believe in the same God." They may do that while they continue to consider themselves Orthodox.

Finally, if we conceive our parishes as a community of small communities, it is imperative for the church leaders to build bridges between different interest groups so as to discourage the formation of cliques. This is a delicate balance between fostering small, personalized groups and keeping those groups open to new people and new directions.

e) *Parish Planning* is a new imperative for our parishes. Parishes must seek new ways to serve the people. Since the parish is composed of people with diverse needs and expectations, the effort to meet those needs and expectations must be made carefully. This necessitates parish planning. Until now parish planning was concerned with questions of whether to expand or modify our parish facilities. Another aspect of planning was crisis prevention, that



is, how to cope with changes taking place in the communities. This type of coping should lead to forming parish visions and goals and planning ways to realize them.

This planning must be the outcome of listening to the people, both the old and the young, the active and the inactive, the traditional and the progressive. Whatever the method, no plans or changes should be made without letting the people know them from the beginning and encouraging the people to "own" the planning process. This listening process should produce short-range achievement goals. The parish leaders must listen to the needs of the people and then try to respond to a common desire and expectation. This listening and responding to desires stimulates a parish community and provides everyone with a sense of hope.

All the short-range goals for our parish must fit into a larger context of long-term planning concerning the future of our community and its long-term needs. If the parish leadership has a clear vision of the nature of the parish and how it should grow, then spending priorities and emphasis for the present may be properly allocated.

In that process we must always remember that who we are is far more important than what we do. Parish planning works when people trust their leaders. If the people sense a deeply caring, sensitive leadership, one that is aware of parish needs and in prayerful contact with the Lord, then they are more likely to accept and respond to whatever plans are made. This kind of mutual caring between people and leader is the immeasurable ingredient in successful planning whose presence will spell success for a program in one parish and failure in another, although the program may be identical.

Finally, the parish is more than a well-managed business; it is a faith community. Parish planning must be attuned to the Spirit from beginning to end. The Spirit, however, has a way of disrupting our best laid plans and pointing out new directions. This may mean taking risks and trying out new territories. On this issue we need further theological reflection on how our Church can be open and receptive to God's Spirit, especially when it leads us to new things.

## *2. Archdiocesan Ministry to the Parishes*

Realizing the difficulties and the intricacies of the parish

ministry, and the fact that resources of all kinds are limited, it is prudent and necessary to re-evaluate our national ministries in order to more effectively provide assistance for the most pressing and immediate needs of our parishes. We do not proceed to any organizational recommendation, but we do sense that there is a serious demand that all of the Archdiocesan resources be martialed in a coherent and focused way to help our presbyters and lay leaders to implement the task and work of the parish. Some suggested areas of focus are the following:

1) guidelines and resources to aid in the personal development of the faithful (intellectual, moral and spiritual);

2) opening and maintaining communication with the parishioners so that the specific needs and character of each parish are known, in order that dealings of the hierarch with the parish may be specific and oriented to the reality of each parish;

3) developing a strong ecclesial identity, based on solid instruction, information and experience;

4) cultivating appropriate Christian leadership styles among the clergy and the laity, especially those laymen and women involved in parish administration;

5) training in organizational development, i.e., how parishes should plan, manage and sustain parish life, for effective ministry;

6) providing guidance for the cultivation of communications, listening, and assertion skills in an ongoing fashion for clergy and lay leaders;

7) instruction skills for the selection, training, organization and management of volunteers for church service;

8) assisting parishes in developing attitudes, methods, and disciplines for sound fiscal management of parish resources.

At the heart of these suggestions is the perception that the Archdiocese not only be centrally concerned with parish development, but that this concern be effectively conveyed to the parishes and implemented as fully as possible. The distance between the Archdiocese, the dioceses and the parishes, which presently exists, can be narrowed and overcome, in the spirit of our theology of personhood, mutual service and practical concern.

## C. Leadership Issues

The issue of leadership, in both the areas of faith commitment and the dynamics of parish life, have already been touched upon in the two preceding sections. Concern with them raises important questions regarding the identification and exercise of authority and leadership in our Church as we look ahead to the third millenium. Our concern with authority and leadership is based on the theological premise that the Church is truly, and at its best, a conciliar reality.

The concept of conciliarity is basic to the ecclesiology of the Orthodox Church. Conciliarity, as a way of life of the Church, seeks to fashion ecclesiastical life in such a way as to express faithfully her essence and ethos. The Church's conciliar way of life, which reaches its highest expression in episcopal synods, gives witness to the synergy of God and human being for the realization of salvation and the endurance of truth.

The canonical reflection of the doctrine of conciliarity confronts us as a Church and an Archdiocese, in the light of our present day life and practice.

There is an unclarity about the highest practical authority in the Archdiocese in its foundational organizational documents. This unclarity raises important questions which deal with many other issues of structural and organizational importance for the Archdiocese and its future. Some of these important questions are: the nature of the exercise of authority, the issue of lay participation and service, and our relationship with other Orthodox churches.

### 1. *Structural/Organizational Issues*

a) *Highest Authority.* What is the relationship of the Synod of Bishops to the Clergy-Laity Congress? In the *Special Regulations* (1978), the Synod of Bishops is defined as "the hierarchical authority of the Archdiocese;" whereas the Clergy-Laity Congress is defined as "the highest legislative body of the Archdiocese." The authority and role of the Archdiocesan Council, relative to the Synod of Bishops, is also not clearly perceived in our Archdiocese. There is confusion as to where the authority of one body ends and the authority of the other begins.

b) *Clergy-Laity Congress Questions.* Regarding the Clergy-Laity Congress, specific questions need to be asked: Does the work it

accomplishes justify its cost? Is it necessary for the Congress to be convened biennially? What should be the policy toward parishes not in attendance, especially when their number is considerable? How is the agenda prepared and what is the procedure for studying it in advance of the Congress? How open are discussions and how freely can one express a dissenting opinion? How well versed in the affairs of the Church are lay delegates to make informed decisions?

c) *Conciliarity in the Parish*. How is conciliarity expressed on the parish level? The pastor who functions as an impersonal bureaucrat usually administers his parish in a non-conciliar, despotic way. The pastor who gives expression to conciliarity in the administration of his parish will afford the opportunity to all its members to offer their gifts for the building up of the body.

Conciliarity on the parish level is likewise threatened whenever cliques and factions exist. Exclusivism of this kind contributes to the breakdown of the unit with the body of the parish. The absence of conciliarity in all levels of church life betrays an egocentric, non-transfigured life in Christ. Such a condition requires repentance and transformation of the inner person.

## 2. *The Nature of Leadership in the Church*

The Church's leadership, though it cannot help but appear similar to worldly leadership, is understood theologically to be of a completely different nature, rooted in a spirit of love and communion. The conciliar expression of ecclesiastical life should be found in every act of communion among all members of the Church's body. It is expressed in every act of communion between the Primate and the bishop within an ecclesiastical province, between the bishop and his presbyters, between a presbyter and his parishioners and among the parishioners themselves. Observing our present status, however, provokes more questions for us in the sphere of the nature of leadership in the Church.

a) *Archbishop and Bishops*. What is the relationship of our bishops to the Archbishop? Lack of clarity regarding the modified role of diocesan bishops foreseen in the present Archdiocesan Charter contributes to their being perceived essentially as bureaucrats. This perception is sometimes enhanced by their insistence upon bureaucratic procedures of non-essential importance within their dioceses. Lack of clarity regarding the modified role

of diocesan bishops creates tension in their relations with the Archbishop. This tension may manifest itself in a bishop's claiming for himself the rights currently reserved only to the Archbishop, thereby jeopardizing the cause of unity within the Archdiocese.

b) *Archdiocesan Regulations*. The continued absence of regulations defining the role and operating procedures of spiritual courts, the Archdiocesan Council and diocesan councils makes it difficult for these bodies to function effectively. At worse, it invites decisions to be reached in a non-participatory (i.e., non-conciliar) way.

c) *Bishop and Presbyters*. A bishop who does not co-administer and co-pastor his diocese together with the presbyters fails to recognize their spiritual gifts and to apply conciliarity in practice. Authority must eventually lead to shared leadership. True leadership, in fact, best expresses itself in the empowerment of others (the presbyters) to co-administer and co-pastor together with the bishop. Otherwise, the presbyters are reduced to professional bureaucrats, who only execute the orders of their superior. Such presbyters contribute to the estrangement of those entrusted to their spiritual care.

d) *Presbyter and Parish Council*. What is the relationship of the presbyter and his parish council? The *Uniform Parish Regulations* stress the role of the presbyter as spiritual leader and head of the parish. In practice this emphasis does not prevent abuses of authority. Both presbyter and parish councils are susceptible to this temptation.

Authority on all levels which seeks to impose itself through claims and counterclaims causes rivalry and the disruption of harmony. On the contrary, authority understood as an opportunity for service to others will promote the cause of unity both in the parish and in the Archdiocese as a whole. Furthermore, it will enhance the pastoral image of both presbyters and bishops.

### 3. *Lay Participation and Service*

Orthodox theology teaches that the Church is the Body of Christ (1 Cor 12.12-31). The characteristic of a healthy body is that every member performs its own function for the good of the whole. However, unity does not mean uniformity, and therefore within the Church there are differing gifts and differing functions. Every one of them is a gift of the same Spirit and designed, not for the glory of the individual members, but for the good of the whole.

These observations raise the issue of the place of the laity in our Church, on several different levels. A careful attention to our laity provokes the need for serious response by the Church.

a) *Tensions in Regard to the Laity*. It is correct that the voice of the laity be heard in the Church. However, there must be a clear understanding of roles, prerogatives and limits. Only believing and worshipping laypersons should be permitted to assist in the governing of the Church; nominal and uninformed Christians should at all costs be excluded from governing roles.

The lay element is becoming more and more secularized, at least from the point of view of Christian knowledge and education. Thus, it is in constant danger of departing from the Church's canonical guidelines. However, more and more ecclesiastical rights are being given to the laity in the life of the Church today.

Neither *klerikokratia* (exclusive rulership by the clergy) nor *laikokratia* (exclusive rulership by the laity) has a place in the Church. In view of the fact that authority in the Church should be characterized by service, *all* are servants. The various problems which beset the Church today can only be resolved with the participation of the laity. What is needed is a definition of lay participation, i.e., guidelines which are in harmony with the work of the clergy and based on the model of the early Church.

b) *Laity Formation*. Religious education, in many different forms, must at all times occupy a central place in equipping the laity for roles of leadership. Too often, lay persons serving in important decision-making bodies have a scandalously deficient knowledge of the faith. In view of this vacuum, decisions affecting the life of the Church are often based on criteria incompatible with our Orthodox faith.

#### *4. Issues of Pan-Orthodox Concern*

We live and exercise our faith as members of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese. But we are not the only Orthodox within the geographical boundaries which our Archdiocese encompasses. The One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic and Orthodox Church in this place consists of numerous other canonical jurisdictions. Each is different in many ways, but all share in the ecclesial reality which is Orthodoxy. Reflecting ecclesialogically, the Church is a body, and in a body there is unity in difference and variety. In these local churches, it is imperative that differences be transformed into a

common loyalty to Christ, a shared love for one another, and the sense of a unified Orthodox Christianity in common service.

a) *Disunity Beyond Diversity*. The impression given of the present state of Orthodoxy in the regions and nations included within the canonical boundaries of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, in regard to the Orthodox jurisdictions, is one of competing churches seeking to preserve their ethnic heritages at the expense of unity. The cause of pan-Orthodox unity has been hindered because we have loved our own ecclesiastical customs and cultural traditions more than we have loved each other. Not until we have really loved each other and really loved Christ's Church can we tear down the barriers which we have set up between the various Orthodox jurisdictions which exist in this hemisphere.

b) *Practicing Orthodox Unity*. On the local parish level, more needs to be done to cultivate the awareness that members of all Orthodox jurisdictions, regardless of ethnic background, belong to the same Church. On the episcopal level, more must be done to promote contacts among the bishops of the various Orthodox jurisdictions. SCOPA can only play a pivotal role in the cause of pan-Orthodox unity when a corresponding level of trust among its members allows this to happen. If pan-Orthodox unity is our goal, we must provide the leadership to secure it.

#### D. Social Realities

It is commonly accepted that the American environment has a powerful socializing influence on the members of our Church. We have clearly adapted to the major aspects of its capitalistic, entrepreneurial, democratic, success-oriented ethos. Perhaps more than some other groups we have also sought to maintain our ethnic identity. The impact of our general dispersment in all the fifty states, in the Canadian provinces and in some South American nations, has meant that we have not been able to maintain tight social cohesion among our people. Each of these factors has significant impact on our present composition, and our future potential as a people and as a Church.

Nevertheless, there are two major issues which seem to have serious impact upon the future of our Church and are factors with which we must come to terms in the form of conscious political orientations. They are: a) the significant, if not overwhelming, rise

of mixed marriages, and b) our self-perception as either a Hellenic diaspora or as American ethnics. These two social realities are keys to whatever remains in our hands to determine our future as a Church and as a people in the northern part of our hemisphere. It is for this reason that we are focusing upon them in this report.

### *Demography and Inter-marriage*

In spite of our inflated public relations statements about our size in the United States, official figures demand a more realistic perception of our numbers and honest reflection of what this means for us as an organized group in this country, especially as those figures are related to the issue of intermarriage.

a) *Demography*. According to the U.S. Census of 1980, some 950,000 Americans reported themselves as having some Greek ancestry, about 600,000 of whom reported only Greek ancestry. A 1975 Gallup poll of American religious preferences found .031 percent who identified themselves as Greek Orthodox. If the Gallup figures are extrapolated to a total U.S. population of 235,000,000 and rounded off, there are approximately 700,000 self-identified Greek Orthodox in this country. Thus it would be reasonable to estimate that about three out of four persons who regard themselves as ethnically Greek in this country are Greek Orthodox — whether actively or only nominally.

This latter observation points to another very insidious and troublesome observation. It is clear that these realistic population figures are not designators of active membership in Church life. A tendency exists among many *bona fide* Orthodox Church members to limit their religious participation to occasional church attendance. Such casual church membership often leads to a movement away from the Church, not so much in a sense of renunciation or joining another denominational body, but in the sense that Orthodox Christianity no longer is a prime definer of one's identity. The danger is not that the Greek Orthodox suffer discrimination, much less persecution, in the United States, but that in the tolerance of American society, no Orthodox identity is maintained. The "drifting away" phenomenon is often accentuated by the growing likelihood of marriage with non-Greek Orthodox.

b) *Intermarriage*. A growing number of non-Greeks are becoming part of the Greek Orthodox Church. Most of this infusion consists of people who enter the community through marriage to a



Greek-American spouse. As early as 1926, it was estimated that one in five Greeks in America entered a mixed marriage. According to Archdiocesan statistics, mixed couples accounted for three out of ten Church marriages in the 1960s; by the 1980s, the figure was six out of ten. What must be kept in mind, however, is that these numbers refer only to weddings conducted in the Greek Orthodox Church. We can safely assume that virtually all Greek Americans who marry outside the Church are marrying non-Greek spouses.

The Greek-American community has had to change its position on intermarriage in the face of its frequency. The initial edict of the immigrant parents was to tell their children that all Greek potential marriage partners were better than all non-Greek. The next line of defense, typical of the second generation, was to acknowledge that there are equal measures of good and bad in all nationalities, but the sharing of a common Greek background makes for a better marriage. The final argument, a common recourse for the third generation, is that if one does marry a non-Greek, one must be sure that the spouse is able to adapt to the family kinship system and be willing to become Greek Orthodox. Without frontal recognition of the increasing likelihood of intermarriage, there can be no long-term answer to the viability of the Greek Orthodox Church in this country.

At present, the non-Greek spouse usually plays a minor role in Church functions, but there is a discernible trend for some such converts to become more actively involved in Church organization. Non-Greeks, in fact, have been elected to church boards. Converts — a very, very few who learn to speak Greek — have become a new element in the impetus toward Americanization of the Church.

c) *The Children of Mixed Marriages*. What happens to the children of intermarried couples? There is no firm answer to this question. But there is good reason to think that a substantial proportion of children of mixed marriages will have less identity as Greeks than that of the offspring of two Greek-American parents. Thus, unless measures are taken to incorporate non-Greek spouses into the Greek Orthodox community, intermarriage inevitably reduces the number who identify themselves as Greek Orthodox in future generations.

It is revealing to examine the religious patterns of our five most

prominent Greek-American political figures: Spiro Agnew, John Brademas, Michael Dukakis, Paul Sarbanes, and Paul Tsongas. Agnew and Brademas were children of mixed marriages and not raised in the Greek Orthodox faith. Michael Dukakis, although raised as Greek Orthodox and a member of the Church, did not marry in the Church and does not raise his children as Greek Orthodox. Paul Tsongas and Paul Sarbanes married non-Greek women in the Church and have raised their children as Greek Orthodox, although Sarbanes' children are the only ones with a strong Greek identity.

With such an experience among our most prominent Greeks, it behooves the Church to consider ways to maintain or, in some cases, even create a Greek Orthodox identity among its children. We support the idea of instituting some kind of public rite of passage for adolescent young people in which the Greek Orthodox heritage would be expressed. Such an expression would be based on focused instruction in Church doctrine and history extending beyond the Sunday School level. Presently, the knowledge of Orthodox traditions and beliefs among even church-going young people is woefully deficient. (Simply ask, for example, our young people what is the significance of such major Orthodox holy days as January 6 and August 15.)

Perhaps even more significant than the rate of intermarriage (though given much less attention) is the overall low birthrate of Greek Americans. For at least two decades, the American-born generations have probably not been reproducing themselves. In terms of economic and educational status, Greek Americans have done well. But there is no question that there are fewer of them than there would be if they were not so well educated, so mobile, and so prosperous. For a variety of reasons, calls for marriage within the group and for a higher birthrate cannot be issued forcefully or, if issued, have any impact.

d) *Opportunity or Problem?* Necessity requires then that the rise in intermarriage be looked upon as an opportunity rather than as a problem. For without genuine acceptance of non-Greek spouses and steps to reinvigorate Greek Orthodox identity among youth, the very demographic continuance of Greek Orthodoxy in America is problematic.

## *2. Hellenic Diaspora or American Ethnicity?*

Two versions of the Greek-American experience in America compete. One is that Greek Americans are to be understood as part of a homeland extension, a *homogenia*, a Hellenic diaspora. The other approach is to see Greek Americans as entrants and then participants in American history. Which of these versions are we to accept? There is no simple answer, for each contains part of the truth.

The paradigm of the diaspora is that one's cultural roots and even political sensitivities must be nourished by a responsiveness to contemporary Greek realities — even if at a distance. The diaspora understanding, paradoxically enough, is one in which Hellenic traditionalists and most Greek-American leftists find agreement. The underlying presumption is that, whether residing or even born in the United States, Greeks in America share a destiny connected with other people who call themselves Hellenes. The fact that most of the early immigrants came to this country with the intention of returning home — and that sizeable numbers actually did return — speaks clearly to the diaspora persuasion. Among the newer immigrants, as well, there is a strong undercurrent to come to the United States on a trial basis. Even among the American-born generations there are some who put their "Greekness" at the very center of their social identity. Among its more analytical proponents, the diaspora view implies that the Greek immigrant phenomenon — to America and elsewhere — is better grasped as a profound outcome of the political economy of modern Greece than as a minor theme in American history.

A quite different view is that Greek Americans must be placed in the broad context of the immigrant ethnic experience of the United States. Whatever the fullness of their traditional heritage and allegiances to the old country, the Greek immigrants who came to these shores inevitably reordered their lives; initially, to the imperatives of the economic and social structure of the United States and later, to some degree of conformance with American cultural norms. Among those born in this country, it seems clear that one's identity is not that of a transplanted Greek, but rather the sensibility of an American ethnic. Our own understanding of the Greek experience in America leans much more to the ethnic rather than the diaspora viewpoint.

It may be useful to distinguish between secular ethnicity and sacred ethnicity. Secular ethnicity will slowly erode, despite rear-

guard actions by the diasporists. Sacred ethnicity, on the other hand, can strike roots in the new world — adaptable to changing social conditions while not deviating from its holy traditions and transcendental truths. If Greek Orthodoxy were to emphasize secular ethnicity over sacred ethnicity, its long-term future in this country would be in doubt.

Looking at Greek Orthodoxy in America, we can offer the following generalizations. For the immigrant generation, we might say that Orthodoxy was Hellenism — the two were virtually synonymous. For the second generation, Orthodoxy was found in Hellenism. To be Greek in America meant to be Greek Orthodox. For the third and later generations, Hellenism is to be found in Orthodoxy. This is to say that rather than viewing the increasing Americanization of the Church as antithetical to Greek identity, it will only be with an indigenous Greek Orthodox Church that we can expect any kind of Greek identity to carry on in the generations to come. Paradoxically enough, the more the Church reaches out and accepts non-Greeks, always without compromise of its doctrinal tenets, the more it will insure its own flowering, and therefore, guarantee some form of Greek-American ethnic survival into the indefinite future.

### Conclusion

Our study, though in many ways detailed and complex, has come to several basic conclusions which can be stated rather briefly. Our survival and growth as a Church depends on lifting up four major concerns and opportunities for future policy direction. First, we must focus resources and attention upon the developing of a spiritually formed membership. This means much more attention to all aspects of Church life as it touches personal, ecclesial and outreach dimensions of our existence. It means priority attention to education and spiritual formation on all levels.

Secondly, we must focus resources and attention upon the parish, the locus of the religious, cultural and spiritual life of our Church, with special attention to the development of the potential of the parish to facilitate the realization of the churchly goals discussed in part one. Vigorous, informed, participatory parish life is a key to the future of the Church.

Thirdly, the leadership of our Church, especially the hierarchy

and the presbyters, need to find ways to understand their roles in ways which focus resource and attention on the conciliar understanding of the life of the Body of Christ, and to emphasize their facilitative role in building up the people of God. Inevitably this will demand changes in role expectations in regard to the laity and lead to increased concern with Pan-Orthodox cooperation and unity.

Finally, an honest assessment of our numbers and the realities of intermarriage demand serious reflection and re-orientation of basic assumptions about our identity and the future course of our Archdiocese. A firm, clear and unequivocal acceptance of the social realities in which we live need not mean an abandonment of our ethnic heritage, but like many other ethnic groups in America, it will be preserved only within the framework of a larger commitment to the Orthodox Christian faith.

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Members of the Commission who contributed to its work are listed below. Not all members have had the opportunity to read and approve the final draft of this report. The final draft is the work of the Holy Cross faculty members and Professor Moskos.

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## Saint Gregory Palamas Homily for Palm Sunday

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NICHOLAS STEPHEN WEBER

THIS HOMILY,<sup>1</sup> DELIVERED ON A PALM SUNDAY MORNING IN A DIFFERENT world than ours, is a beautifully constructed piece. On the ethical side, it is really a sermon on Christian politics in which Saint Gregory, while being very much aware of the pitfalls of power, defends the idea of the Christian emperor (*basileus*) whom he believes can be an exemplar of Christian virtues. Anyone who possesses power or wealth or prestige risks losing the kingdom of heaven; nevertheless, rulers there must be and subjects must obey their rulers.

For the modern reader the real stumbling block to accepting these Palamite ideas is our own idea of democracy. Saint Gregory shared no such notion. Palamas knew from first hand that democracies were unreliable; the republic of Zealots in Thessalonike had resulted in a complete paralysis of the body politic. If he had a theoretical bias, it was probably that of a Greek philosopher who knew his Plato and Aristotle. Guided, undoubtedly, by these luminaries of thought, Palamas had no particular reason for going out of his way to idealize democracy as some kind of absolute good in itself. Scripture as well sees monarchy as divinely inspired, and as a Christian he knew that the fulfillment of Scripture was in the messianic kingship of Jesus who appeared at the fulness of time manifesting his kingship by entering Jerusalem on the foal of an ass.

<sup>1</sup> For the text, see *Patrologia Graeca*, 151.177-88.

It should not be forgotten that, although he was a defender of monarchy, he was at all times most eloquent in declaring that it was the poor and the weak and the powerless of this earth who were most likely to possess the Faith in its purest and most childlike form. Yet, such a belief on his part did not compel him to a political doctrine that the poor should then rule themselves. There is real dramatic tension in his arguments, since much of the homily is taken up with the contrasting of the faith of the children and the uneducated — as well as their courage — with the lack of faith, the treachery and cowardice of the Scribes and Pharisees who represent, to Saint Gregory, the rulers of Jewish society in the time of Jesus.

At the same time, Saint Gregory tells us that the real successors of the Scribes and Pharisees as rulers of Israel, and over the New Israel of the Gentiles as well, were the Apostles. This sentiment could certainly have led him immediately to defend the right of bishops to rule as the heirs of the Apostles. Although elsewhere he defends what amounts to episcopal rule over a Byzantine city, in this homily he is only concerned with justifying the historical emergence of a Christian monarchy, in the person of the Byzantine emperor — the Christian *Basileus*. This emperor was also the heir of the Romans, who ultimately held the reigns of power in Israel through conquest and in the New Israel of the Nations through conversion to Christianity.

The homily vindicates both the idea of Christian monarchy and the fact that the Christian emperor would be a Roman (Byzantine). All the pitfalls of power, notwithstanding, God himself has ordained the institution of monarchy. Saint Gregory pointedly expresses his hope that a Christian monarch would emulate Christ, although he certainly realized that most Christian monarchs in fact had hardly succeeded in imitating Christ. He would emulate Christ as the true messianic king. Ideally, he would be of low estate as was Jesus, rather than the kind of charismatic worldly messiah that represented the original expectation of many Jews — a romantic figure whose very stature impresses but who would be more likely than not subject to all the passions.

Isaiah's Suffering Servant and Zechariah's king mounted on a colt must be the model for all monarchs. What is especially emphasized in this homily is not so much the connection between Jesus the Lord's low estate and humility with the economy of our



redemption from the bonds in which Satan had previously held us captive, but rather the specific consideration that only an emperor who is humble, even degraded, whose tokens of victory are only palm branches, could be expected to rule with justice and righteousness. He could do this precisely because, not possessing the goods of the world, he would not be enslaved to them.

Yet, this Christian monarch was also to be a Roman citizen in a Greek empire. It is towards the end of the homily that Saint Gregory attempts to account for this truth. He reminds the people listening to him, and by implication us as well, that although they are racially and culturally non-Semitic they are indeed the heirs by grace and adoption of the children of Abraham and that their ruler is of the same stock as they. A non-Jewish world entailed that Christianity would leap out well beyond its own Jewish roots. By appealing to Genesis 49.11, Saint Gregory demonstrates that this was no accident but was providentially ordained.

There is a suggestion that the responsibility of both emperor and subject was particularly great for two reasons. Christ has come and therefore we cannot claim ignorance of our real responsibilities. And in so far as a kind of usurpation was involved — albeit ordained by God — wherein the children of grace had superseded the children by nature, we who are the New Israel must all the more act in a manner pleasing to God.

While these political and ethical ruminations are extremely central to the sermon, its main theological section has to do with the raising of Lazaros and the entry into Jerusalem. We find a very marvelous interweaving of theological ideas concerning the divinity of the Lord with a discussion of the contrasting reactions on the part of the children and the rulers. The children spontaneously praised him and understood the truth, while the Scribes and Pharisees were suspicious, hostile and blinded by fear.

The great day which has been promised, the day of salvation is also the day when the Lord as God raised Lazaros after four days in the grave and then made his own triumphant entry, riding on that foal of an ass, into the holy city itself. Through these events the divinity of the Lord is made manifest in its fulness. The point of emphasis here is very important. The miracle of Lazaros' resurrection is seen not so much in the revelation of Christ as God but in the fact that the children were able to fully understand this mystery; that the man who raised Lazaros was God himself. The

events of Holy Week and Pascha, however much they are the very climax of history itself, were not required to convince the children. Thus, on Palm Sunday these same children were able to greet him with the very hymn that the angels had sung at his nativity in the flesh which announced his divinity and that he was to bring peace on earth.

In his interpretation of the events of Palm Sunday and the raising of Lazaros, Saint Gregory seems to betray a singular lack of interest in the humanity of Christ. He makes no attempt to recall for us the human sensitivity to the pain of Mary and Martha. He does not remind us that Lazaros was Jesus' friend or that he wept bitter tears of anguish when he learned that Lazaros was dead. Indeed, Saint Gregory does not even impress upon us, in connection with the prayer at the tomb, that it was Jesus in his humanity who prayed to the Father, and that it was Jesus in his divinity who raised Lazaros. We might pause and wonder — why?

I believe that the answer is provided in the very structure of Saint John's own Gospel witness. However loving his treatment of the real humanity of the Lord, Saint John purposefully connected the Lazaros-Jesus event with the entry into Jerusalem to demonstrate his divinity, that the one Christ is equal in all things to the Father. Having revealed himself completely as God, he would then immediately enter the city to be greeted as God by the children. The economy by which God revealed himself to man through his Son reaches a culminating point in these connecting events. Saint Gregory has only drawn out for our further meditation what is already stated in Scripture.

I think this explains why Saint Gregory so strikingly emphasizes, several times, that Jesus prayed to his own Father not because there was any need for a prayer but for the benefit of the people so that they might understand that he was sent from God. So, in the raising of Lazaros, Jesus, six days before his own Pascha, revealed himself completely. There could be no longer any doubt as to *who* the man Jesus was. He carefully orchestrated his actions so that those who were receptive would come to understand in their minds and through all their physical faculties he, Christ, is God indeed. Saint Gregory particularly goes out of his way to emphasize that not simple trust and faith, let alone what we call blind faith, was summoned up in the people who then would go forth and carpet his entry into the holy city with palm branches. God revealed himself so that

our whole being could proclaim his divinity and worship him as God. Thus the extraordinary love of God for mankind!

There are many liturgical texts which convey the special spirit of this homily on Lazaros and the entry into Jerusalem. The sense of the economy is expressed in the first canon of the fourth canticle of the Matins for the Saturday of Lazaros:

You prayed to the Father, not because You are in any need of help, but to fulfil the mystery of Your Incarnation: and so, almighty Lord, You have raised up a corpse who was four days dead. Co-eternal with the Father, the Word that was revealed from the beginning as God, now offers prayers as a man, though it is He that receives the prayers of all. O Savior, Your voice destroyed all the power of death and the foundations of hell were shaken by Your divine might.

And all of this is already made manifest, totally and completely, six days before Pascha.

The troparia of canticle five also brings the message of the homily into good focus:

In Your love for mankind, coming to the tomb of Lazaros, You called him and granted him life, for You are the immortal life of all mortal men; so You have as God clearly foretold the future resurrection. . . . All things obey Christ's word, serving him as God and Master. You have raised Lazaros on the fourth day, although his corpse already stank. Raise me up, O Christ, for I am dead in sin and lie in the pit and the dark shadow of death; deliver me and save me in Your compassion.

Some of the texts of the Compline Service for the feast also capture that same feeling as in this Palamite homily. The parallelism between the Word acting in the beginning and the Word raising Lazaros is especially to be noted in the following troparion from canticle five composed by the great Saint Andrew of Crete:

Joining dust to spirit, O Word, by Your word in the beginning You breathed into the clay a living soul. And now by Your word You have raised up Your friend from corruption and from the depths of Hell.

Yet the most exciting idea of the homily may be found in those statements in which he meditates on the children; their complete trust and faith, their understanding, and especially their courage,

and where he compares them to those priests and lawyers who could not see, hear or understand even when confronted with incontrovertible proof concerning the nature of the man Jesus. In the third sticheron of the Lauds of Palm Sunday we sing:

Come forth you nations and come forth you peoples; look today upon the King of heaven, who enters Jerusalem seated upon a humble colt as though upon a lofty throne. O unbelieving and adulterous generation of the Jews, draw near and look on him whom once Isaiah saw: he is come for our sakes in the flesh. See how he weds the new Zion, for she is chaste, and rejects the synagogue that is condemned. As at a marriage pure and undefiled, the pure and innocent children gather and sing praises. Let us also sing with them the hymn of the angels: Hosanna in the highest to him that has great mercy.

Even this text and all the liturgical material still do not convey that special dignity which he accords to the children. It is as if he had penetrated their very hearts in a particularly deep way. He also senses that courage they displayed and points up the risks that were most certainly involved. The homily concludes by reminding us that we must emulate those children if we hope to secure our places at the wedding feast in heaven which await us when our earthly term is concluded.

## Homily Fifteen Delivered on Palm Sunday

SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS

[177D] It was through the mouth of the prophet Isaiah that God informed us, "In the time of favor I have answered you; in the day of salvation have I helped you" (49.8). Today is that very wonderful apostolic time when for love of you it was declared: "Behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation. Let us cast off the armor of darkness and put on the armor of light" (2 Cor 6.2; Rom 13.12). "Let us conduct ourselves becomingly as in the day."

The moment draws near when we are called upon to recall the saving suffering of Christ, which is the new and great and spiritual Pascha, the crown of his mastery over suffering (τὸ τῆς ἀπαθείας βραβεῖον), and the prelude of the age which is coming. All this is foretold through the Lazaros event, through Lazaros who was called forth from the nether world where he had lain hidden, to be resurrected after a full four days among the dead, and this simply by an utterance and a command by God who possesses the power over both life and death. The children also, the innocent ones, having received an inspiration (ἐμπνοία) declaimed in advance through their song (προανυμενοῦσι) the one who would be liberated from death, he who would lead the souls out of Hades, and he who would bestow life eternal on both soul and body.<sup>1</sup>

For the one who desires that new life and hopes to see the good days [which are to come], let his tongue refrain from speaking any evil thing; let nothing deceitful emanate from his lips. Having forsaken evil things let him solicit after those things which are

<sup>1</sup> In this introduction, Saint Gregory already combines simultaneous events in the manner of traditional Orthodox theology: the intimate connection between the raising of Lazaros and the children's hymn of Palm Sunday. Both foretell and proclaim the Paschal triumph. Lazaros Saturday and Palm Sunday are the day, the appointed time, the χαῖρος of our redemption. Technically, the great day is Pascha itself, but not economically in some real sense.

good. Included among those things which are evil are gluttony and drunkenness, riotous living (ἄσωτία), as well as the love of money, greed, and injustice itself. We might add to these self-praise, insolence, and arrogance. Each one of these evil tendencies must be shunned; man's efforts ought rather to be directed toward what is good. Well, what are these qualities? There is self-control, fasting, moderation in all things, justice, mercy, patience, love and humility. We must attain these goods if we hope to partake worthily of the Lamb who was slain for us. Then, we may anticipate the crown of deathlessness, while guarding for ourselves the full reality of our inheritance, that inheritance which has been promised for us in Heaven.

[180B] But, is the good difficult to accomplish (δυσάνωστον) and the virtues harder to achieve than evil things? Personally, I don't see things this way! Rather, what seems to be set down before us as a fact is that the man who is drunk or intemperate labors far more than he who is master of himself.<sup>2</sup> An undisciplined man works harder than the person who practices self-control. The search after wealth entails more effort than frugal living. He who longs to gird himself in glory expends more energy than he who is content to draw himself apart by leading a life of obscurity. But if indeed, for the sake of our good living,<sup>3</sup> the virtues appear to be most difficult to attain, it may be that we will be constrained to work very hard (βιασώμεθα) to acquire them. The Lord himself says, "The Kingdom of heaven is subject to violence, and men of violence have taken it by force"<sup>4</sup> (Mt 11.12).

<sup>2</sup> This is a complicated construction. Saint Gregory phrases the question as a statement he disagrees with, and then postulates what appears to him to be the truth. Thus, after the query as to the difficulty of attaining virtue, we read: "Εγὼ μὲν οὐκ ὁρῶ τοῦτο, καὶ γὰρ πλείους αὐτόθεν ὑφίσταται πόνους ὁ μέθυσος καὶ ἀκρατῆς τοῦ ἐγκρατοῦς . . . ." After demonstrating what he believes to be the case, he will then concede that effort may be involved to achieve virtue leading to his citation from Matthew. So he goes on to say, "Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἡδυσπαθείαν. . . ."

<sup>3</sup> See preceding note: Given the argument, the 'Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ here would seem to have the force of "but if indeed," or "if, in fact, it is the case that." 'Ἠδυσπαθεία suggests pleasant living, luxury, enjoyment — especially enjoying those things which are sweet, including the delicacies of the table (ultimately, perhaps, the delicacies of the spiritual banquet).

<sup>4</sup> The use of Mt 11.12 here is employed rather brilliantly by Saint Gregory to emphasize his concession that strength (if not violence) might be necessary to attain the Kingdom of Heaven in proportion to the strength of character necessary

Actually, diligence and toil are required of each and all of us, whether we be illustrious men or obscure individuals (ἐνδόξοις τε καὶ ἀδόξοις), whether we be governors or subjects, whether we be rich or poor; such toil is required if we wish to expel from our souls those wicked passions while insuring that the catalogue of virtues be allowed to dwell instead in our souls. A man may be a farmer, a shoemaker or a tailor; he may be a weaver or a householder. In the case of each of these who earns his living through his own efforts, by the work of his own hands, insofar as those desires for wealth or glory or luxury are expelled from the soul, such a man is he who is really blessed.

These people are, in fact, the very *poor* who will inherit the kingdom of heaven (Mt 5.5). It is in thinking of these that the Lord stated, "Blessed are the poor in spirit." They are the poor in spirit because they are not boastful and are free from ambition and do not tolerate sensuality of spirit, that is, sensuality of soul,<sup>5</sup> [180C] the poor in spirit who voluntarily embrace even external poverty, or suffer such poverty with nobility even if it is acquired involuntarily (καὶ ἀκούσιος ἥ).<sup>6</sup>

The rich and self-indulgent are those people who revel in their enjoyment of transient glory, especially those who set their hearts on acquiring such glory and who give themselves up completely to these most terrible passions. How easy is it for them to fall into the more odious traps of the devil — remember that the one who is wealthy does not easily put aside his greed but strives to gain even more wealth. The greed actually increases; it multiplies as he grasps at more than what he at first possessed. [180D] The same holds true for the pleasure-loving individual, the person who has an ambition to rule (ὁ φιλαρχος), as well as the dissolute and the spendthrift. These impulses are only augmented; they are not repudiated. Rulers and illustrious men tend to accept in addition

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to lead that kind of life which is its pre-condition.

<sup>5</sup> Here, Saint Gregory identifies spirit and soul, which is certainly permissible in an ethical context.

<sup>6</sup> Notice how Saint Gregory moves from poverty of spirit to poverty of a more material nature; the latter is really secondary, but should be suffered or endured with nobility if the condition is not voluntary, or even embraced willingly. He does not go out of his way to suggest that such external poverty is essential, in either case, to be properly thought of as being "poor in spirit."

power as well so that they become more able to effect even greater injustices and even greater sins.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, it is certainly difficult for a ruler to be saved or for the wealthy man to enter the Kingdom of God — for, it is said, “How can you believe [in me]<sup>8</sup> who receive glory from another and do not seek the glory which comes from the only God?” (Jn 5.44) But, on the other hand, don’t be afraid of somebody simply because he happens to be a ruler or an illustrious person or well-provided for in life. [181A] Such a man has the ability, if he only wills it, to search out the glory of God, and to master himself and to resist his own weaker inclinations (καὶ βιάζεσθαι ἑαυτόν, ὥστε τὴν τὰ χεῖρῳ βροπὴν ἀνακόπτειν) so as to be in a position to act with great virtue while casting off all that is evil, and these things not only in his own behalf but also for the sake of others who may not have the desire to abandon evil ways.<sup>9</sup>

This ruler or illustrious man may be capable of acting justly and of showing moderation in his behavior, but he also can effectively punish those whose inclination is to be unjust and immoderate. In short he cannot only serve the gospel of Christ himself as well as those who preach Christ’s gospel, but he has the power to compel those who wish to be disobedient to submit themselves to Christ’s Church and to those individuals whom Christ himself has appointed to be set over the Church.<sup>10</sup> [He can serve in such a function] not only because he has received power and authority from God, but also because he can make himself an example to those weaker in their faith in connection with all those things which are good, for the one who is a subject can become like the ruler.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> However biblical, this is a very strong assertion on Palamas’ part. The Greek is somewhat less strong. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἑνδοχοὶ προσλαμβάνουσι καὶ δύναμιν ὥστε μείζους ἐκτελεῖν ἀδικίας καὶ ἁμαρτίας. Of course, Saint Gregory will go on to defend power and its use, for Christian causes, in the next section of the homily.

<sup>8</sup> The “in me” is an addition by Saint Gregory.

<sup>9</sup> The verb βούλεσθαι is used in this section in many grammatical variations. It suggests inclination, desire, will, or preference; in its proper sense, it suggests preference, involving a free choice of behavior selecting one end as opposed to another.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Χριστὸν προεστηκόσι.

<sup>11</sup> Literally, ἐξομοιοῦται γὰρ τῷ ἄρχοντι τὸ ἀρχόμενον. The verb, especially in the passive, suggests comparison and assimilation — to be made like something else. Through his good example those who are subjected to authority can acquire the virtues here ascribed to the good ruler. This hardly represents a point



[181B] [For the ruler] there is a necessity to evince concern, strength, and diligence<sup>12</sup> — although not necessarily equally.<sup>13</sup> With respect to those people who have become affluent in glory, wealth, or power (ἀρχή), as well as to those who have a gift for words and are seriously involved with the acquisition of wisdom for themselves,<sup>14</sup> insofar as these want to be saved, there is a very great need of strength and vigilance (σπουδῆς), for it is with regard to these people where one might find the most difficulties when it comes to persuading.<sup>15</sup>

And yet, at the same time,<sup>16</sup> it has been shown in the Gospels of Christ which were the readings for yesterday and today, in connection with the most perfect miracle which was the raising of Lazaros, where he who raised Lazaros showed himself to be fully God in the most obvious way imaginable, that whereas the people were persuaded and came to believe, the rulers, in those days,<sup>17</sup> by which here is suggested the Scribes and Pharisees, were obstinate in their refusal to believe to such an extent (τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ

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of view easily acceptable to the modern democratic temperament, but nevertheless. . . .

<sup>12</sup>This is a difficult passage from which to extract Saint Gregory's exact meaning since the Greek nouns are capable of a wide range of interpretation. Σπουδῆς suggests earnestness, diligence and care as well as haste and speed plus toil and work. Βίᾱς is the normal word for violence as in Matthew 11.12, but can also mean the effective use of power, constraint or simple force. Palamas may certainly mean "violence" in this context given the stubbornness of man, etc., and the contemporary reader might find this one of the more offensive passages in the whole homily. Προσοχῆς suggests care, vigilance and diligence.

<sup>13</sup>οὐκ ἐπίσης δέ. The implication of this almost parenthetical remark is that the tactics which the ruler will have to resort to will vary, and one suspects that from what follows immediately in the text that those people who seem to be "worldly-wise" may be the very people whom the ruler may have to deal most severely with.

<sup>14</sup>καὶ τοῖς περὶ λόγους καὶ περὶ τὴν κτῆσιν τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς σοφίας ἐσπουδάκουσιν. Those who are most studious and earnest in their desire to learn and to acquire worldly knowledge or are specially talented intellectually, etc.

<sup>15</sup>ἐπεὶ καὶ πεφύκασιν εἶναι πῶς δυσπειθέστεροι; It will be most difficult to assume that these people, the learned, might be the most intractable, difficult to persuade, undisciplined and disobedient — all these ideas are implied in the last word.

<sup>16</sup>Here we come to the key theological section of the whole homily which will begin by showing that the rulers themselves were the real enemies of Christ. The play of ideas on this whole issue underlines the dramatic intensity of the homily.

<sup>17</sup>The rulers in those days: Saint Gregory will suggest that the real rulers were not the Scribes and Pharisees.

πεισθεῖναι) as to become absolutely enraged against him. They had become so totally frantic (φρενοβλαβείας) that they formed a determination (βουλευέσθαι) to deliver him over to death, he who had shown both in word and deed that he was clearly Lord of both life and death.

For it is impossible for anybody to suggest that he did not believe himself equal to the Father when, right in front of them, at that very time, [181C] he lifted up his own eyes above to say: "Father, I thank you that you that you have heard me" (Jn 11.41). He further addressed the Father then, saying, "I knew that you hear me always, but I have said this on account of the people standing by, that they may believe that you did send me" (Jn 11.42). So it was, that in order to be recognized as being together with the Father, being of the Father and in no sense whatsoever set up as against him (καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον), and that he accomplished his wonders according to the express will of the Father, he elevated his eyes in front of the entire population saying the things he said directly to the Father. In this fashion it was conclusively demonstrated that the one who speaks on earth is equal to the Father in the highest, to the Father in Heaven.

In this manner it was also shown that the way in which God effected his will and intention in the beginning in the fashioning of man was in no way different, as the Lazaros miracle demonstrates, than that manner by which God intended to effect his will now in the refashioning of man. But in the beginning, it was the Father who expressed his intention [181D] to fashion man to the Son when he said, "Let *us* make man . . ." (Gen 1.26). In this, the Son was obedient to [heard] the Father, so that it was in this manner that man was originally brought into existence. Now, with the raising of Lazaros, it is actually the Father who obeys [hears] the Son when the Son speaks. So, Lazaros is restored to life. Do you not see to what an extent there is an absolute equality both in honor and in will?

[181D] Thus, it is clear that the form of a prayer was simply for the benefit of the people who were standing around. The words that he uttered were in fact not an entreaty (προσευχῆς), but were ones expressing total authority possessed personally by Christ; these were the words uttered by the Lord of all.<sup>18</sup> "Lazaros, come

<sup>18</sup>There would appear to be two points that might be remarked on here. Firstly,

forth!" (Jn 11.43) [184A] And, instantaneously, that man who had been dead four days stood there alive before everybody. Was the deed then the result of a life-giving command or the granting of life through God's own prayer?<sup>19</sup>

That he spoke with a loud voice was only for the benefit of the crowd. In order to demonstrate that the deed was accomplished not because of the magnitude of his voice, but that this man was resurrected by an act of will *alone*, he could have stayed at some distance from the stone which was sealing up the tomb.

However, he came right up to the tomb in order to speak to those who were assembled there [instructing] them to remove the stone so that they then smelled the offensive odor of death. Finally, he cried out with a loud voice and called him forth; and so, it was in this fashion that the man was resurrected so that the people would by their own vision perceive him lying there in the tomb and, through their own sense of smell, sense the stink emanating from one who had already been dead for four days. Through their faculty of touch they would first remove the stone away from the tomb and then loosen the bandages which were binding up the body as well as the cloth which was covering Lazaros' face. And by hearing the voice of the Lord with their own ears resounding forth, they then might come to comprehend and believe that the Lord was none other than he who accomplishes everything through the word of his power, that it is he who calls all those things which

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that Saint Gregory wants to emphasize that, whatever the text might seem to convey, that no entreaty in the sense of a supplication for God to act was really involved. He does not allow for any kind of tension between the human and the divine Lord. The deed was accomplished totally through his will alone! Secondly, my translation amplifies the Greek to convey its full implications. The Greek states more succinctly that he acted *δεσποτείας καὶ αὐτοκρατορίας*, that is, as a master or with dominical authority and with, as it were, full power of determining things of his own will. I have adjusted the sense somewhat only to convey the message which is that Christ's equality with God was absolute, and that the prayer itself was only for the sake of the people.

<sup>19</sup>We have a kind of rhetorical question here — *ἄρα προστάγματι ζωοῦντος τοῦτο, ἢ δι' εὐχῆς ζωοποιουῦντος*; The use of *εὐχῆς* as opposed to the earlier *προσευχῆς* is quite significant. The first word in this context hardly suggests a prayer or an entreaty or supplication, as much as Christ's own, unique, and special dominical prayer. In effect, then, the question whether there was a life-giving prayer or a dominical command is really unanswerable or meaningless. The sense of entreaty in it only was for the benefit of the people, a part of the Divine Economy, a parable in action, as it were.

had no being into existence, and that it is he who, in the very beginning, created existence from non-being purely through the power of his word alone.<sup>20</sup>

[184B] So, then, the untutored and innocent (ἄχαρος) people continued to believe in him through everything, manifesting their faith not only in silence, but they made themselves (γενέσθαι) heralds of his divinity through deeds and speech. Now, after Lazaros had been resurrected from his four-day burial, the Lord sought after an ass which his disciples procured for him, as the Evangelist Matthew records (21.1 ff). Upon such an ass he would seat himself so as to make his entry into Jerusalem as had been prophesied earlier by Zechariah: "Do not fear [rejoice greatly] O Daughter of Zion . . . for behold, your king comes to you, just and a savior; he is meek and riding on an ass and a young foal" (LXX, 9.9). It was by these words that the prophet showed that nature of the king who was being prophesied who would, in fact, be the only true king of Zion. [184C] In that it is stated, "your king," only reminds us that he is not to be regarded in fear on the part of those people who see him, for he is neither a violent man nor an evildoer. He will not come surrounded by attendants and guards, dragging a host of infantry and cavalry behind him. Nor would his life be lived in excess or with greed [for power], a king demanding tribute and taxes or slaves or a body of people to serve his needs (ὀπηρεσίας), obnoxious and ignoble types. Rather, his insignia is his humility and poverty as well as his low estate,<sup>21</sup> for he comes riding on an ass with no mass of [servile] humanity attending him. Therefore, this is the kind of king who alone is just and who saves in righteousness. He is gentle, with gentleness being his own personal dignity.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, he is that very king who says of himself: "For I am

<sup>20</sup>This whole theological section here concludes with one more affirmation to the effect that all that Jesus said and did had only one real purpose, not to provide any contrast between man and God, nor to startle or even impress with a miracle, however astonishing, but to demonstrate in a way that would open the eyes of the people — and their minds — that it was God himself who was acting. They were to be given an insight into the divine nature itself. The man who raised Lazaros was the God who made man in the beginning. The whole exposition underlines the special importance to Saint Gregory of the meaning of Lazaros Saturday-Palm Sunday, and their proper place in the economy of our salvation.

<sup>21</sup>εὐτελεία — The many senses of this word ought to be noted. It suggests low estate, degradation, a state of inferiority, indeed, even something cheapened.

<sup>22</sup>καὶ αὐτὸς πρᾶος ὡς ἰδιατάτην ἔχων τὴν πραότητα. The absolute and complete

gentle and lowly of heart" (Mt 11.29).

Such then is the king who entered Jerusalem in those days after having raised Lazaros; he comes in seated on an ass. The entire populace with total abandon,<sup>23</sup> children, men and elders, making a carpet of their clothing, and taking branches of palms, which are the symbols of victory itself, rushed up to greet him as the life-giver and the conqueror of death.<sup>24</sup> [184D] They embraced him<sup>25</sup> and escorted him not only outside but into the very inner precincts of the temple singing in unison, "Hosanna to the Son of David; Hosanna in the highest" (Mt 21.9).

Now, indeed, this hymn of "Hosanna" is offered directly up to God, for we recall that it signifies, "Save us, O Lord." And it should be pointed out that [185A] "in the highest" shows that he does not only belong (προσκειμενον) on the earth, or that he is simply from the race of men, but that he is from heaven, in the highest, and is hymned by the choir of angels. However, he is not only so celebrated and proclaimed in his divinity (θεολογοῦσιν) by these, for, on the other hand, the Scribes and Pharisees, through evil intent and hatred of God, have become motivated to oppose him with murderous designs (πρὸς τὰς φονικὰς . . . προφάσεις). These speak against him maliciously, saying, "This man is not from God but insofar as he performs many signs, if we permit him to go on thusly (and not put him to death), everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our (city) and our na-

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contrast with that other kind of king, described just above, is wonderfully captured here.

<sup>23</sup>εὐθὺς σχεδόν — Immediately and all at once, thus, with complete abandon and spontaneity; what a contrast with the earlier description of those servile creatures which the other kind of king tends to have as his servitors and camp followers. It should also be noted that Jn 12.17 tells us that the same people who were in attendance at the raising of Lazaros were in the crowd greeting the Son of David on his triumphal entry into the Holy City. John reminds us too that there were others who came because of the sign signified by that resurrection (which of course Saint Gregory would not really believe to be a correct reason for hastening to Jerusalem).

<sup>24</sup>ὥς ζωοποιῶ καὶ νικητὴ θανάτου γεγονότι προσυπνῶντων — To the one who "was made to be" the victor. . . .

<sup>25</sup>προσέπνυτον has the sense of run up to, hasten after, embrace, etc. Scripture does not suggest that the crowd followed Christ right into the temple, but this is important for Saint Gregory to emphasize the deeds and acts of those who believed.

tion.”<sup>26</sup>

The people, on the contrary, what were they saying? “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; [185B] blessed is the Kingdom of our father David which is to come.”<sup>27</sup> Now, when it is stated: “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,” what is shown is that he is from God who is the Father, and that he has come in the name of that Father, the very thing which the Lord said concerning himself. “I have come in my Father’s name,” (Jn 5.43) as well as “I come from the Father and am present.”<sup>29</sup>

Now, the saying, “Blessed is the Kingdom of our father David which is to come” informs us that this will be the Kingdom which, according to the prophecy, both the Gentiles and especially the Romans will come to believe in.<sup>29</sup> For this man is the king who is not only the hope of Israel but also represents the expectation (προσδοκία) of the nations as in the prophecy of Jacob. “He will tether his ass to a vine,” by which is meant that the Jewish people will be subjected to him, and “the foal of his ass to the branch of it.”<sup>30</sup> Now the branches of the vine are the Lord’s own disci-

<sup>26</sup>Jn 11.47-48. This is a partial gloss on the Scriptural text. Saint Gregory’s additions are in parentheses. John has the Pharisees specially concerned about their Holy Place while Saint Gregory, for example, simply mentions their “city.”

<sup>27</sup>This conflates both Jn 12.13 and Mk 11.10; the latter text for the reference to the Kingdom of their father David, which is to come.

<sup>28</sup>A gloss on Jn 16.27. John says, “I came from the Father and am come into the world,” while Gregory writes, “ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἦκα; cf. Jn 8.42.

<sup>29</sup>Here, Saint Gregory introduces another series of fascinating speculations which are part of traditional exegesis, and are based ultimately on the significance read onto Gen 49.11 from the so-called Testament of Jacob, the text which will be cited in the next note. This is an important section for the unity of the homily, as it not only has to do with the present reactions of the Scribes and Pharisees but looks back to the earlier discussion on Christian rule, and forward to the concluding material where Saint Gregory attempts to connect his own generation of Christians (Greeks by race and nation) with all the Scriptural prophecies and injunctions.

<sup>30</sup>Gen 49.11 in the LXX. Δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἑλικί τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ. We might ask why Christ requested two animals, both ass and colt; of course, this was required to fulfill the prophecy of Zechariah! In any case, the Orthodox Church recalls these connections in the Aposticha at the Vespers for Palm Sunday, when the following is sung: “O you who rides on the cherubim and are praised by the seraphim. You have sat, O gracious Lord, like David on a foal, and the children honored you with praise fitting for God; but the Jews blasphemed unlawfully against you. Your riding on a foal prefigured how the Gentiles, as yet, untamed and uninstructed, were to pass from unbelief to faith. Glory be to you.”

ples about whom the Lord said, "I am the vine and you are the branches" (Jn 15.3). Now, by means of the shoots [branches] the Lord bound the foal of his ass to himself. This refers to the New Israel of the Gentiles who have become the children of Abraham by grace. So then, if this kingdom in itself is also the hope of the Gentiles, how is it that the Scribes and Pharisees can say, that even if *we* believe in this, we must be afraid of the Romans?<sup>31</sup>

[185C] In this fashion, those who are babes, not in the sense of being mentally undeveloped, but in that they are incapable of doing evil,<sup>32</sup> being inspired by the Holy Spirit, sent up to the Lord the perfect and ultimate hymn, bearing witness to the fact that it was as God that he restored Lazaros who had been dead for four days again to life. Nevertheless, the Scribes and the Pharisees, when they observed these very same wonders and heard the children crying out in the Temple, saying, "Hosanna to the Son of David," they became violently irritated<sup>33</sup> and they said to the Lord: "Do you hear what these people are saying?" (Mt 21.16) Actually, it would have been really the proper moment for the Lord to remind them that they were the ones who had no capacity to hear, see or understand.<sup>34</sup> However, turning around to these people, being the ones who were to be censured,<sup>35</sup> in that [the Ho-

<sup>31</sup>Scripture does not actually say that the Pharisees believed, only that they recognized that he had committed certain signs. So, perhaps, Saint Gregory's question here is somewhat unfair. He doesn't actually suggest the "even if" which I have introduced into the translation. Then, why the whole idea? I suspect Palamas wants to underscore the special character of their cowardice if, in fact, they believed, as well as showing that they were ultimately foolish in their fears, which again may have been slightly unfair on the part of Saint Gregory, for whatever conversion experience the Romans eventually underwent, there must have been a real danger in Jerusalem in A. D. 33. Palamas here is also trying to contrast the absolute courage of the children's witness, and its public manifestation, with the cowardice of the cunning rulers, etc.

<sup>32</sup>οἱ μὴ τὰς φρένας ἀλλὰ τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζοντες is capable of several renderings which all suggest the following: those people who were praising him, etc., were like children, indeed, like babes, but not because they had childish brains but that like children, they could not commit an evil act. The μὴ τὰς φρένας might also suggest an incapability of being haughty in spirit, again a characteristic of a child.

<sup>33</sup>ἠγανάκτησαν (Mt 21.15), violently agitated, indignant, under some kind of compulsion to be disturbed, etc. Cf. Jn 12.40 from Is 6.9-10.

<sup>34</sup>Saint Gregory actually phrases this as a question he might have asked them at that time.

<sup>35</sup>αὐτοὺς μεμφομένους involving censure or blame; in this case, that they did

sanna] was the only hymn appropriate for exalting God,<sup>36</sup> he said to them, "Yes, I can hear the things you are calculating even secretly (σοφίζομένων ἀοράτως) about me, let alone those things which you declare openly, yet even if these people were silent, the very stones would cry out."<sup>37</sup> [185D] [And then he said] "Have you never read the prophecy which says, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings you have brought perfect praise?'"<sup>38</sup>

For, verily, this indeed was the greatest wonder that this angelic hymn was offered up through the mouths of simple people, by children and by uneducated people, for they praised in the most perfect manner the God who became incarnate for our sake.<sup>39</sup> It was, in fact, the same hymn that the angels sang to him at his Nativity: [187A] "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth . . ." (Lk 2.14). So, also, these children offered up this hymn to the Lord as he was making his entrance into Jerusalem, saying, "Hosanna to the Son of David, Hosanna in the in the highest!"

Brothers,<sup>40</sup> let us all be like those children when it comes to evil, whether we are young people or older people, rulers together with those who are ruled, so that we may be all strengthened by God, acquiring the trophy for the defeat over the enemy,<sup>41</sup> and become bearers of the symbols of victory,<sup>42</sup> not only over our evil

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not understand the significance of the hymn the children were using to praise him.

<sup>36</sup> ὡς ἀνεχόμενον τῆς Θεῷ μόνον πρεποῦσης ὕμνωδίας.

<sup>37</sup> A conflation of texts of which the only one that is properly connected with the occasion is the last part which comes from Lk 19.40, referring to what the children were singing. Here, it could also suggest that what his enemies even managed to keep silent about would be shouted forth by the stones themselves.

<sup>38</sup> Mt 21.16 from LXX, Ps 8.2.

<sup>39</sup> θεολογεῖν τελείως τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντα Θεόν — perfect praise equals theology.

<sup>40</sup> Here begins the concluding, most truly homiletic section of this piece.

<sup>41</sup> The use of very classical terminology should here be noted — καὶ τρόπαιον στήσωμεν. The Greek is quite concise, the trophy for the defeat which will be accompanied by the symbols of victory themselves — which here suggest the whole Christian hope.

<sup>42</sup> To carry the symbols of victory: καὶ τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα βασιτάσωμεν. Taking the two images together, we hope to be set up, literally, as a trophy representing the defeat over our adversaries while being afforded the grace of bearing all the symbols of that victory. The victory is no longer the result of some military encounter but that moral victory over our fallen nature redeemed by the God-become-man.



passions but over all our enemies both visible and invisible. [Brothers, let us be like children] so that we may receive the grace of the Word at the appropriate time.

For, the new colt [foal] upon which the Lord found it worthy to be carried on our behalf prefigures [in advance] the obedience of the Gentiles to him, from which people we are all descendents, rulers together with subjects. Indeed, as the divine Apostle tells us that there is neither male nor female in Christ, nor Jew nor Greek (cf. Rom 10.12), but that we are all one, so, [187B] in the same sense, there is neither ruler nor ruled. Rather, here too, we are all one through our faith in him and through his grace. We have received our perfection within the body of the Church, his Church, and we possess him as the one head of that Church. Furthermore, we have all been given to drink one spirit which is the gift of the all-holy Spirit. We have been baptized, being one in that baptism; we also possess one hope in all things for there is one God in each of us and over all and in all.

Therefore, let us love one another and bear with (ἀνεχόμεθα) one another and care for (κηδόμεθα) each other insofar as we all are members of one another. And, the very sign of our discipleship, as the Lord himself tells us, is that bond of love (cf. Jn 13.34-35). [187C] The paternal inheritance which he left for us when he was about to pass from this world itself is simply love, and the perfection he bestowed upon us in the prayer he offered when he was about to ascend to his own Father was that we might strengthen each other in love. Let us then be on our guard that we may become the recipients of the blessings of his paternal prayer for our sakes, lest we be deprived by him of our inheritance, lest we risk losing<sup>42</sup> the hallmark (τὸ σιμεῖον) [the seal] bestowed upon us which is our adoption, our benediction, our discipleship. For then we would be deprived (ἐκπίσωμεν) of our hope, that which is stored up for us, and be shut out (ἀποκλεισθῶμεν) from the spiritual [wedding] banquet.

In the same way as not only the people but also those who were really the rulers over the nations, those, I say, who were the Lord's own apostles, spread out their garments on the ground when the

<sup>42</sup>These two negative ideas are expressed in Greek by ἀποβαλλώμεθα, suggesting deprivation, exclusion, expulsion, rejection. In the next sentence, two other Greek verbs indicated in the text are employed.

Lord made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem here on earth right before his saving passion, so, similarly, let us, rulers or subjects, spread out our *natural* garments, the garments of our own flesh, our desires which we voluntarily have subjected to the Spirit. [187D] Doing these things, we would be made worthy not only to see and to worship the saving passion of Christ and his holy resurrection, but we can anticipate the enjoyment to the full of our comradeship with him.<sup>43</sup>

“For if we have been united to him in a death like his,” as the Apostle says (Rom 6.5), it is also certainly clear that we “shall be united with him in a resurrection like his.” We hope that all of us will attain this end through the grace and love for mankind of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ, to whom all glory is suitable, as well as honor and worship, together with his eternal Father and his life-creating Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

<sup>43</sup> ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας καταπολεύσωμεν.

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## Some Aspects of Saint Gregory the Theologian's Soteriology

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VERNA HARRISON

"WHAT IS NOT ASSUMED IS NOT HEALED," SAINT GREGORY SAYS in Epistle 101, "but what is united to God, that also is saved."<sup>1</sup> As this famous formula indicates, and as is generally recognized, the Theologian understands salvation as both arising from and consisting in a union between the human and the divine.<sup>2</sup> And this union comes about through the Logos' assumption of our human condition in the Incarnation. For this to happen, two radically different levels of reality, the uncreated and the created, need to come together in such a way that each retains its distinct nature and properties. In addition, genuine contact between holy divine life and human sinfulness has to occur in order for the healing to reach those areas affected by the disease. This paper will examine some aspects of how Gregory sees this joining of opposites as taking place without compromising the reality or character of the entities involved.

The points at issue are both christological and soteriological,

<sup>1</sup> Paul Gallay, ed. *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques*, Sources chrétiennes 208 (Paris, 1974), p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> On Gregory's soteriology, see E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ*, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1933), 1, pp. 368-79; L. Stephan, *Die Soteriologie des Hl. Gregor von Nazianz* (Vienna, 1938); F. X. Portmann, *Die göttliche Paidagogia bei Gregor von Nazianz* (St. Ottilien, 1954); F. W. Norris, "Gregory of Nazianzus' Doctrine of Jesus Christ" (Dissertation, Yale University, 1970); T. Spidlik, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Introduction à l'étude de sa doctrine spirituelle* (Rome, 1971); H. Althaus, *Die Heilslehre des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz* (Munich, 1972); and D. F. Winslow, *The Dynamics of Salvation* (Cambridge, MA, 1979).

since clearly these dimensions of the Theologian's thought are closely intertwined. For him, the divine and the human are first united without confusion *within* Christ, and the resulting divinization of his humanity extends through it to other human beings. So let us look briefly at the christological dimension of this unifying process and then turn to its soteriological dimension.

According to Gregory, the Savior's humanity is united in various ways to the person of the Logos, the divine nature, and divine properties, attributes and activities (i.e. energies). Although he has not yet formulated the language of hypostatic union, he clearly has the idea it embodies. He often expresses it by predicating a series of contrasting divine and human attributes or activities of the same divine subject. An outstanding example of this is the rhetorical *tour de force* in Oration 29. 19-20, which says in part:

He was born, but he had been begotten. He was born of a woman, but she was a virgin. The first is human, the second divine. . . . He dwelt in the womb, but he was recognized by the prophet, himself still in the womb, leaping before the Word, for whose sake he came into being. He was wrapped in swaddling clothes, but he took off the swathing bands of the grave by his rising again. He was laid in a manger, but he was glorified by angels and proclaimed by a star and worshipped by the Magi. . . .<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the famous passage from Epistle 101 which says that in Christ there is ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο but not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος points conceptually toward the one person, two natures formula of Chalcedon, as is well known.<sup>4</sup>

However, as scholars like Stephan, Portmann, and Althaus have recognized, Gregory also sees Christ's two natures as united directly with each other, so that they share and exchange properties, but without fusing into one nature or compromising their distinctness

<sup>3</sup> Oration 29.19, Paul Gallay, ed. *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27-31*, Sources chrétiennes 250 (Paris, 1978), p. 218. For this translation, see E. H. Gifford and C. G. Browne, ed. *S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Gregory Nazianzen*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ser. 2, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids, 1983), p. 308. Other translations in this paper are mine.

<sup>4</sup> Gallay, *Lettres théologiques*, pp. 44-46; cf. Norris, pp. 205-06.

of essence.<sup>5</sup> The rest of the paper will focus on this second kind of union and the soteriological vision with which it is closely allied.

Gregory repeatedly describes this joining of natures as a *μῆξις* or *χρᾶσις*. As Portmann and others have shown, these are Stoic technical terms indicating a mixing of two entities in which they interpenetrate completely yet each preserves its own essence and properties intact.<sup>6</sup> This kind of mixture is also to be distinguished from *παράθεσις*, where there is juxtaposition but no interpenetration, and *σύγχυσις* where the two entities are fused into a *tertium quid* and each loses its distinct identity.<sup>7</sup> Thus *krasis* is a genuine union without confusion, and the Theologian uses the term with this meaning to describe the union of body and soul in the human person, which is an important application of the idea among the Stoics, as well as the christological union.

Plotinos also applies the idea of mixture to body and soul. While the Stoics envision this anthropological union as a mixture between two material substances, the great Neoplatonist modifies the concept and sees it as indicating a mingling between immaterial and material entities. He argues that two material things cannot interpenetrate completely in such a way that each retains its own properties.<sup>8</sup> This Neoplatonic transformation of the idea of *krasis* probably lies more directly behind Gregory's usage than the original Stoic notion, though he again modifies the concept's meaning somewhat. I plan to examine the Theologian's employment of this philosophical material in greater detail elsewhere. For now let us look at a typical example of his christological use of mixture-language:

What he was he emptied, and what he was not he assumed, not becoming two but accepting to become one out of the two. For both are God, what assumes and what is assumed,<sup>9</sup> two natures coming together into one (δύο φύσεις εἰς ἓν συνδραμοῦσαι), not two sons. Let

<sup>5</sup>Stephan, p. 16; Portman, pp. 112-13; Althaus, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup>See especially Portmann, pp. 63-65, 109-12; Althaus, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup>See von Arnim, S.V.F., vol. 2, fragment 741.

<sup>8</sup>*Enn.* 4.7.8(2). On Aristotelian, Stoic, and Plotinian understandings of mixture and its anthropological application, see Richard Norris, *Manhood and Christ* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 67-78.

<sup>9</sup>Note that for Gregory, Christ's humanity is not swallowed up so as to lose its own nature but is "made God" through deification.

Let the σύγκρασις, the commingling, not be misrepresented.<sup>10</sup>

Notice now this text speaks of Christ's two natures as uniting directly with each other.

For Gregory, the mingling between the diving and human natures in the Savior also involves an interchange of properties between them. In Oration 2.24, he says, "For each of our properties, each property of the One above us," that is Christ, "was exchanged" (ὕπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕκαστον τοῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς ἀντεδόθη).<sup>11</sup> In other words, while the properties of each nature are preserved intact in the mingling, they are interchanged as well. This teaching is also expressed in Epistle 101, where Gregory is the first to use the term περιχώρησις in a theological sense.<sup>12</sup> He gives the following explanation of why such statements as, "The Son of man is from heaven," and, "God is put to death," are appropriate: "Just as the natures are mixed (κίρναμένων), so also the names pass reciprocally (περιχωρουσῶν) into each other by the principle of their confluence (συμφύτας)."<sup>13</sup> This text is saying that because of the mingling of Christ's two natures, their attributes have grown together and function together — as the word συνφύτα suggests — and so the names of these properties and activities can also be conjoined and exchanged. Thus, for Gregory, *perichoresis* is clearly not a verbal calculus intended to explain biblical language that does not appear to keep the Savior's divine and human attributes or activities sufficiently separate. He sees the exchange of names as appropriate because it expresses an ontological reality.

A key text in Oration 30.6 further explains how all this happens. It says that Christ:

takes on a strange form, bearing, the whole of me in himself with what is mine (ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐμὲ φέρων μετὰ τῶν ἐμῶν), so as to

<sup>10</sup>Oration 37.2, Claudio Moreschini, ed. *Gregoire de Nazianze. Discours 32-37*, Sources chrétiennes 318 (Paris, 1985), p. 274.

<sup>11</sup>Jean Bernardi, ed. *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 1-3*, Sources chrétiennes 247 (Paris, 1978), p. 120.

<sup>12</sup>See G. L. Prestige, "Περιχωρέω and περιχώρησις in the Fathers," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1928) 242-52. The catalogue of texts in this article is excellent, but their interpretation needs to be reviewed in the light of more recent research.

<sup>13</sup>Gallay, *Lettres théologiques*, p. 48.

consume the bad in himself, as fire does wax or as the sun does the earth's mists, that I may participate in what is his (τῶν ἐκείνου) through the commingling (σύγκρασιν).<sup>14</sup>

Thus, the Savior draws human life into himself and pours forth divine life into humanity. As in a number of other places, Gregory is speaking here about christological and soteriological issues at the same time. The interchange between divinity and humanity which this passage describes occurs both within Christ and between him and those he saves. Notice how this relationship, though reciprocal, is also asymmetrical. The divine Logos as subject, that is a person, is the initiator and cause of the interchange, drawing what is human into himself and pouring forth what is divine into humanity. At the same time, the divine nature functions as the center and source of the mutual interpenetration, drawing and containing the human within itself but not fusing with it.

Perhaps what Gregory has in mind is something like the relationships of mutual indwelling described in John's Gospel. There, Christ and his disciples are said to abide in each other, but their interaction is clearly asymmetrical, like that of the vine and the branches. Even within the Trinity, the Father is thought to give all that he is to the Son, who gives it to him in return. Thus *perichoresis* does bring persons or entities together, uniting them at what is at least in some sense a common level, yet for all its balance and reciprocity, it often occurs in asymmetrical relationships. Because of this, Gregory's understanding of the union of God and humanity as strongly perichoretic does not undercut the ontological and causal priority of the divine either within Christ or between him and his mystical body.

The text we have quoted from Oration 30.6 also provides important insight about how the Theologian thinks the mingling of divine and human in Christ brings salvation to fallen human persons. Gregory says that the Savior "bears the whole of me in himself with what is mine, so as to consume the bad in himself, as fire does wax or as the sun does the earth's mists, and I participate in what is his." Thus for persons who are saved, contact with God through the incarnation has a twofold result, affecting different aspects of the human condition in opposite ways. What is

<sup>14</sup>Gallay, *Discours* 27-31, p. 236.



bad is irreducibly incompatible with the divine and comes into contradiction with it. God and the evil in our condition cannot coexist in the same place, so what is impure is destroyed as wax is melted by fire. In contrast, what is good in the human condition does come to coexist with the divine and is strengthened through participation in it in a union without confusion. So the redeemed human person is both freed from evil and mingled with divine goodness by the one salvific process of union with God in Christ.

This is the heart of Gregory's understanding of how Christ saves us from sin, corruption, evil and death. The saving action of the incarnate divine presence both destroys and recreates, it both purifies and sanctifies.<sup>15</sup> This twofold action reaches its fullest extent when the divine Logos is united with the last and worst aspect of the human condition, death. Then, as the Theologian says in Oration 29.20, Christ "dies, but he gives life, and by his death destroys death."<sup>16</sup> The same divine presence annihilates death, which cannot coexist with it, and gives life to those whom death has held in bondage.

An important passage in Oration 30.5 explains further how human persons are saved from sin and its direct consequences. It says that Christ is not himself involved in sin, curse, disobedience, folly, and abandonment by God, but he takes these aspects of our condition upon himself as the new Adam, the head of the body, making what is ours his own.<sup>17</sup> This text answers a question that naturally arises regarding Gregory's soteriology. If salvation occurs through union with God and if what is not assumed is not healed, and if Christ remains sinless, then how does God's incarnate presence make contact with the aspects of our condition that are directly infected by sin and thus most in need of healing? The answer suggested in Oration 30.5 is that although the Savior does not assume sin or its immediate consequences such as curse and divine abandonment in his own person, he does assume — the text uses *προλαμβάνω* — and save the members of his body who, in *their* persons, possess sin, curse and abandonment. Thus, although

<sup>15</sup>On sanctification, see also Oration 37.1-2, Moreschini, pp. 270-274.

<sup>16</sup>Oration 29.20, Gallay, *Discours* 27-31, p. 222.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.* p. 234.

he cannot assume these evils directly, as it were, he assumes them indirectly as properties belonging to the other persons he unites to himself. He takes them into himself through the interchange of properties between himself and humanity as a whole.

Thus union, interpenetration, mutual indwelling, and exchange of properties are essential to Gregory's understanding of how we are saved from sin. Without them, the medicine cannot reach the disease. They are involved in the soteriological necessity of redemption, not only in sanctification and deification, which are sometimes thought to be luxuries added on to what is truly indispensable. For the Theologian, all these things occur together, inseparably.

Since he sees God's union with redeemed humanity as so close, how does he distinguish it from God's union with the human nature of Christ? In other words, what remains unique to the humanity of Jesus? It is difficult to discern the complete answer to this question because of the way Gregory speaks about christological and soteriological issues together in some of the same key texts, but certain things are clear. We have seen that for him, Christ, as human, functions as a new Adam, that is, a new human archetype whose divine life others share by participation. Moreover, although his references to *mixis* or *krasis* between the divine and the human in Christ are often closely associated with strong statements about the deification of humanity in general, he does not often use this technical mixture language to describe the relationship between God and us as such, even though for him the concepts of union, mutual indwelling, and interchange of properties are applicable in this context, as we have seen. Oration 41.12 does speak of a mixture between Christ and his disciples in which they participate in his dignity, goodness, and love.<sup>18</sup> Significantly, however, this is a mingling and exchange of properties, not of natures.

So it appears that for the Theologian, within Christ there is a union and mixing both of natures and of properties, but between him and those he saves there is a union and mixing of properties but not of natures. This is what distinguishes Jesus' humanity from ours.

In summary, for Gregory Christ's humanity is united with the divine nature as well as the person of the Logos. This union involves an interpenetration and mutual indwelling of the natures

<sup>18</sup>PG 36.445B.

and an interchange of their properties, but without a confusion that would contaminate the impassible divinity or swallow up the humanity. While balance and reciprocity characterize this relation, the divine person and nature remain its cause and center, so an essential asymmetry is preserved. This christological understanding avoids separating divine person and nature, which are inseparable in Gregory's trinitarian doctrine. It also undergirds his theology of salvation through union with God, which he sees as necessary for fallen humanity's liberation from sin as well as for its sanctification.

The value of these ideas is indicated by their continued currency among some of the Theologian's most important Orthodox successors. The Synod of Chalcedon condemned the christological use of *κράσις*, which it equated with *σύγχυσις*, confusion.<sup>19</sup> We have seen that for Gregory and his philosophical predecessors, *krasis* meant not fusion but something very close to union without confusion in the Chalcedonian sense, together with *perichoresis*. After the Synod, the Theologian's vocabulary was abandoned but the concept it expressed was kept. Saint Maximos the Confessor, a devoted student of his writings, discovered his use of *περιχώρησις* and applied it both to the natures and the energies in Christ. Saint John of Damascus followed Maximos, continuing and extending this usage.<sup>20</sup> Thus, while Gregory's characteristic christological term, *krasis*, was dropped, another term of Gregory's, *perichoresis*, came to replace it.

Unlike such modern commentators as Harnack and Althaus,<sup>21</sup> these later Fathers did not see his concept of union without confusion between Christ's two natures as a kind of Monophysitism. They saw it as addressing important theological, and especially soteriological, concerns, which they also shared.

<sup>18</sup>PG 36.445B.

<sup>19</sup>See Althaus, p. 130.

<sup>20</sup>For Maximos and John, see texts cited in Prestige. "Περίχωρῶ and περιχώρησις," pp. 243-52.

<sup>21</sup>See Althaus, pp. 130-32, and Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 3rd German ed., trans. Neil Buchanan, 7 vols. bound and paginated as 4 (New York, 1961), vol. 4, pp. 159-63.

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## The Ascetic Mother Mary of Egypt

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EFTHALIA MAKRIS WALSH

THE CONCEPT OF WISDOM AS FOUND IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN AND in Old Testament and Apocryphal literature is an integral part of the Byzantine salvation schema. The Theotokos and the women saints of the Byzantine era, especially, epitomize wisdom. The image of victorious battle is central to this theology. The gift of *θέωσις*, deification, is possible because of Christ's victory over death and the power of Hades. The struggle against death and evil, however, is ongoing and the saint as a wisdom figure — protector, illuminator, intercessor, patron, and guide — helps the Christian in the quest to attain eternal life.

In this paper, I shall show how the concept of wisdom is expressed in an ascetic woman saint, Mother Mary of Egypt. In her life, she is depicted as the true model of holiness, the wisdom-loving woman of the desert, and as a model of spiritual aging. Mary, unlike many other women saints is a secret wisdom saint, unknown to others in her lifetime. Only after her death, and through Zosimas's recounting of her experience, do others learn of her. Nevertheless, she becomes, *ex post facto* as it were, an illuminator, a guide, a figure linking people to God, and a protector for others that follow her. Hence, she is a legitimate wisdom saint.

Lossky has pointed out that, in the Orthodox tradition, "The way of mystical union is almost always a secret between God and the soul concerned, which is never confided to others, unless it may be to a confessor or a few disciples." He adds that what is made known, however, is the "fruit of this union: wisdom, understanding of the divine mysteries . . . expressing itself in

theological or moral teaching or in advice for the edification of one's brethren."<sup>1</sup> This description fits Mother Mary of Egypt very well.

Mary is one of a few exceptions to the stereotypical Byzantine woman saint. She is not young, beautiful, educated, eloquent, aggressive, wealthy, with high or royal connections. Neither is she a blood martyr nor a virgin, at least in Sophronios's more widely known version of Mary's life.<sup>2</sup> She does not specifically reject marriage, go against her family to become a Christian, nor does she have a male teacher or mentor. And unlike many of the others she lives into old age. Her title, ὁσία καὶ μήτηρ, used to designate monastics and ascetics, puts her into another category also. While there were other ascetic women saints, Mary appears to have been the most widely known in Byzantium.<sup>3</sup>

### *Mary of Egypt*

The Life of Mother Mary of Egypt became enormously popular in the East, and during the Middle Ages, in the West, as a romantic tale of the repentant harlot. But the story of Mary was first understood strictly as a monastic document, written not to covert or to edify the masses but to teach monastics true humility. The tale was told not to exalt Mary for her own sake, but to contrast Mary's humility with the monk Zosimas's pride in his saintliness.<sup>4</sup>

Zosimas, the priestly monk who recounted Mary's story began to feel, after a lifetime in a monastery, that he had attained perfection in everything and needed no teaching from anyone. He asked himself, "Can there possibly be found among the wisdom-loving men of the desert one surpassing me either in active life or in contemplation?"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1966), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Sisters Katherine and Thecla, trans., *The Great Canon of St. Andrew of Crete, The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, The Library of Orthodoxy (Philgrave, New Port, Pagnel, Buckinghamshire, 1974). This is a translation into English of the Life of Mother Mary of Egypt of Sophronios of Jerusalem, PG 94.369-726.

<sup>3</sup> Symeon Metaphrastes's *Menologion*, includes the following Ὁσία καὶ μήτρες: Pelagia of Antioch, Ephrosyne of Alexandria, Eusebia of Syria, Anastasia of Rome, Theoktiste of Lesbos, Melanie of Rome, and Matrona of Thessalonike.

<sup>4</sup> Roger M. Walker, *Estoria de Santa Maria Egipciaca* (London, 1972), p. X.

<sup>5</sup> Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 67.

Zosimas became tormented with the thought that he had attained perfection. Because for the monk the greatest enemies of progress toward grace are pride and lack of humility,<sup>6</sup> Zosimas had every reason to be concerned. He realized the danger facing him and sought and found another monastery. In the course of executing his new monastery's devotional rule, he encountered Mary in the desert. Mary, then, is the wisdom-loving woman of the desert, not man, that surpassed Zosimas in every way.

### *Three Versions of Mary's Life*

According to the three different versions of her Life, Mary was either: (1) a former nun and virgin in a monastery, (2) a former *φάλτρια* — singer and consequently an ecclesiastical functionary, or (3) a former decadent woman from Alexandria, as Mary is presented by Sophronios.

Story 1, attributed to John Moschos, and story 2 attributed to Cyril of Scythopolis both emphasize Mary's virtuous behavior. According to Moschos's account, Mary, while a young nun living in a monastery, was "exceedingly pious and most spiritually progressed toward God." The devil, jealous of Mary, made a young man fall in love with her, but "The marvelous virgin, seeing the devil's work, went out into the desert." The young man is thus saved by Mary's action and so is Mary.<sup>7</sup>

Cyril of Scythopolis's tale is similar to Moschos', but depicted Mary as a young *φάλτρια*, a chanter or singer, at the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. Mary, fearing that she might be found responsible for the devil's ensnarement, through her, of many men, left Jerusalem and lived for many years in a cave. After her death, the Abba, hearing of Mary from a wandering monk who had encountered her, recognized her status and cried out, "Glory to God, who has so many hidden, secret saints."<sup>8</sup>

These two versions of Mary's story are obviously extolling the superior behavior of an extremely virtuous, virginal monastic or church functionary who may or may not have been a monastic. These stories were written during the high period of the orders

<sup>6</sup> Werner Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden, 1965), p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> John Moschos, *Spiritual Meadow*, PG 57.3049. My translation.

<sup>8</sup> E. Schwartz, ed. *Cyril of Scythopolis's Life of Cyriacus* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 233. My translation.

of deaconesses, virgins, and widows and were meant, most likely, to edify those women who "subordinated sex and the resultant man-woman relationship to the transcendental end of man."<sup>9</sup> It appears that many women wanted to become deaconesses or to join the orders of virgins or widows. In an attempt to limit the number of women joining church orders, which meant they were supported by the Church, Theodosian legislation gave personal responsibility to bishops who enrolled women under sixty years of age. Because of the great demand, however, the age of candidates for deaconess and others was reduced from sixty to forty by Justinian.<sup>10</sup>

Justinian's code, Novella 123, Chapter 43, shows the great concern for protecting women connected to and supported by the Church.<sup>11</sup> Deaconesses, especially, who had considerable freedom of movement, going into strange homes, etc., and often living alone, were particularly vulnerable to exploitation. The penalty for men assaulting the chastity of a deaconess, whether she consented or not, was punishment by death and confiscation of their possessions.<sup>12</sup> The penalty for a guilty deaconess was also death, but if a deaconess were innocent, she was sent off to a monastery for a number of years.<sup>13</sup>

Neither version of Mother Mary's life specifies that she was one of these women, but Mary's departure from Jerusalem because men found her attractive, as both Moschos and Cyril of Scythopolis attest, does suggest that this may have been the case.

### *The Sophronios Version*

These two brief tales of Mary were set into a broader framework in a version of her life attributed to Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 634-638 C. E.<sup>14</sup> He introduced Zosimas into the story, creating the contrast between the monk Zosimas and the holy Mary

<sup>9</sup> E. Leach, "Virgin Birth in Anthropological Literature," *Theological Studies*, 36 (1975-76), 441.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church*, (Collegeville, 1976), p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed discussion of the origins of Mary of Egypt's life, see Manuel Alvar, *Maria Egipciaca*, *Classicos Hispánicos Series* (Madrid, 1970), p. 10f.



and gave Mary a much more illustrious past. At the same time, the author appeared to be arguing for the superiority of the anchorite type of monasticism of Anthony as compared with the cenobitic, communal form of Pachomios and Basil.

Historically, there was serious discussion about the merits of ascetic anchorite monasticism and doubts were expressed about it at the Council of Gangra in the fourth century which criticized extreme and excessive asceticism.

Zosimas also is critical of his first monastery for its strict rule which included all kinds of ascetic trials "seeking to subject the flesh to the soul . . ."; he also refers negatively to visions. Humility and prayer are what he considers noteworthy about his new monastery.<sup>15</sup>

Many scholars have pointed out the similarity between Mary and Paul of Thebes, the first Christian hermit encountered in the desert by Saint Anthony.<sup>16</sup> What is new in Sophronios, however, is that the anchorite is a woman. Mary, the pious nun of John Moschos, has been recast as the "insatiable fire for public depravity" who enjoys sex not for money, but because she had "an insatiable and irresistible passion for wallowing in the mud."<sup>17</sup> Also new in this version is that Mary is from Alexandria, the classical city of prostitution since ancient times,<sup>18</sup> and at the time of the writing of this tale, a center of heretical Monophysitism.

When Mary arrives in Jerusalem from Alexandria she attempts to enter the Church of the Resurrection with a crowd of her compatriots to attend the service of the Elevation of the Precious Cross. Repeatedly, she is held back by an invisible, powerful force. After a time, she understands what has forbidden her entrance.

The word of salvation touched the eye of my heart and showed me that the impurity of my actions obstructed my entrance. I began to weep and grieve, beating my breast and groaning from the depths of my heart. I stood and wept and saw above me the icon of the Most Holy Mother of God.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 68.

<sup>16</sup>F. Delmas, "Remarques Sur La Vie De Sainte Marie L'Égyptienne," *Echos D'Orient*, 4 (1900) 38.

<sup>17</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 76.

<sup>18</sup>Konrad Kunze, *Studien zur Legende der Heiligen Maria Aegyptiaca im Deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Berlin, 1969), p. 23.

<sup>19</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 76.

Mary makes an agreement with the Mother of God, enters the church, sees the cross, and goes out to the desert to fulfill her bargain.

The truly monastic elements of the story can be seen in this recital of events. In monastic theology, the parts of the Temple of Jerusalem correspond to degrees of knowledge. Mary is out in the courtyard which refers to being at a certain stage of ascent to deification. Mary is moving from a life of ἐνέργεια, the active life (out in the courtyard) to one of ἀπάθεια (in the sanctuary) to contemplation of the Holy of Holies which is knowledge of God. (After this comes the knowledge of the mysteries of Creation and then true theologia, the knowledge of God in the Logos.)<sup>20</sup>

Evagrius (d. 399) had further developed this concept of ἀπάθεια and ἐνέργεια, and the monastic doctrine of prayer in which "prayer prepares the mind to put its own powers into operation."<sup>21</sup> He himself had fled because of unrequited love and became one of the important monastic figures of his time, having "integrated ascetic principles with the metaphysical and anthropological system inspired by neo-Platonism."<sup>22</sup> Evagrius' teacher, Makarios, had expanded the important monastic work of Gregory of Nyssa, *Instituto Christiano* into what is called the *Great Letter of Makarios*.<sup>23</sup> These works and Evagrius' *Praktike*<sup>24</sup> were the great monastic guides of their time.

A whole series of events in the Mary story have special monastic meanings. The weeping and grieving in front of the icon is an important sign; crying, tears, and seeing light are stages in the process of repentance. This happens to Mary again in the desert. The icon as the cause of repentance and conversion is also a classic monastic motif. As Peter Brown has noted, icons of Christ and of the Theotokos begin to have important symbolic power in this period. Holy men had introduced and supported the use of icons in Church. Icons and saints are intimately related. In both, one sees the divine plan in operation. "Heaven and earth have come

<sup>20</sup>Vladimir Lossky, *The Vision of God*, trans. A. Moorhouse (London, 1966), p. 47.

<sup>21</sup>John Meyendorff, *St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality* (Crestwood, NY, 1974), p. 22.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*.

<sup>24</sup>Evagrius Pontikos, *The Praktikos, Chapters of Prayer* (Spencer, MA, 1970).

to be joined in the figure of a human being.”<sup>25</sup> That the icon Mary sees is of the Theotokos is also significant. Mary refers to the Theotokos as her guarantor and adds that her Advocate (the Theotokos) helps her in everything and, in fact, leads her by the hand,<sup>26</sup> a function of the Johannine Paraclete and of Wisdom.

When Zosimas, wise in the ways of God, realizes that Mary has been enlightened by the grace of insight,<sup>27</sup> one of the goals of the philosophic life, of acquiring of knowledge of God and a sign of spiritual perfection, he is again making a monastic statement. When he throws his monastic cloak on Mary (at her request to conceal her naked body), Zosimas once again gives a monastic message. By the sixth century, the monastic schema — the cloak worn by monastics — had a mystique. The cloak was considered by the monks to have been given to John the Baptist by angels in the wilderness. The act of bestowing the cloak signifies consecration from the past and from below — that is, from outside the church hierarchy.<sup>28</sup> This consecration was seen in contrast to the sacramental priestly ordination which was consecration from above. It is significant, also, because women were not consecrated from above,<sup>29</sup> but, as this incident spells out, Mary, a woman, was worthy to receive this high monastic honor. Zosimas, who is himself a priest, realizes her superior position — “. . . all your life, you have dwelt with God and have nearly died to the world.” And he makes a monastic critique of the institutional church. “Grace,” he says, “is recognized not by office, but by spiritual gifts. . . .”<sup>30</sup> Zosimas implores Mary to reveal the truth to him, a sinner. Addressing her as “Wisdom hidden away and secret treasure,”<sup>31</sup> he indicates again in monastic language that she has reached the highest state possible — the truly powerful person having wisdom is the humble, secret, unknown, God-fearing, and loving person.

In wondering how Mary had reached this state and how she

<sup>25</sup>Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 88.

<sup>26</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 71.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid. p. 71.

<sup>28</sup>Peter Brown, “A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *The English Historical Review* 88 (1973) 21.

<sup>29</sup>Unless one considers that the consecration of the Deaconess is the same as priestly ordination.

<sup>30</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 72.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. p. 73.

had acquired knowledge of the Scriptures from Moses to Job, Zosimas asks Mary, "And have you read the Psalms, My Lady, and the other Books?"<sup>32</sup> Obviously, a monastic would have been inundated with the Psalter and especially with the wisdom literature of the Old Testament and the Apocryphal books. (Evagrius's *Praktike* gives Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs as corresponding to the three kinds of knowledge).<sup>33</sup> But Mary, the anchorite denies this, and in doing so, the writer again criticizes cenobitic monasticism. Mary has not seen a creature in her forty-seven years in the desert. "I never learned from the Books. I never even heard anyone singing or saying them. But the Word of God, living and active, itself teaches knowledge to man."<sup>34</sup>

The story, however, concludes on a more institutional and sacramental note. Mary begs and implores Zosimas to bring her "the life-giving and divine Mysteries at that hour when the Lord made his disciples communicate at the Holy Supper."<sup>35</sup> In doing this, Mary is identifying herself as a disciple of Christ within the context of the Church. Zosimas ultimately brings Mary the sacrament, and Mary, after a series of miraculous events, receives the sacrament and dies. The final goal of those who have wisdom — theologia — is the knowledge of God the Logos — the sacrament. Sanctification, deification occurs within the sacramental Church.<sup>36</sup>

This tale apparently circulated in the East for many years. John of Damascus refers to Mary at the Second Synod of Nicaea, in 787 during the iconoclastic debates.<sup>37</sup> Modern scholars, however, refer to Mary's life as simply a legend and suggest that there was no such person. The Life of Mother Mary survived, however, and Mary is the only woman celebrated on one of the Sundays of Lent. The other Sundays honor two important male monastic figures: Saint Gregory Palamas and Saint John (Klimakos) of the Ladder; the Cross; and icons. Mary's commemoration takes place on the Sunday before Palm Sunday and also the previous Thursday. On

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. p. 79.

<sup>33</sup>Lossky, *The Vision of God*, p. 47.

<sup>34</sup>Sisters Katherine and Thecla, *The Hallowed Mother Mary of Egypt*, p. 75.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid. p. 75.

<sup>37</sup>Kunze, *Studien zur Legende*, p. 21.

that day, the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete is read, along with Mother Mary's Canon and her Life,<sup>38</sup> in which she is presented as Holy Mother Mary with Andrew as Holy Father Andrew,<sup>39</sup> the two great repentant sinners and intercessors. "Holy Mother Mary, pray to God for us" is repeatedly followed by the refrain, "Holy Father Andrew, pray for us."<sup>40</sup> This juxtaposition may be a commentary on the joining of the institutional Church with the monastic enterprise, as the Life of Mary could be interpreted. The use of both a representative male and female sinner is also interesting, suggesting an Adam and Eve typology.

The point made in the canon, that the Theotokos was the one who freed Mary, suggests a possible female-saved-by-female motif. And it illustrates well both the Theotokos' and Mary's wisdom functions as illuminators, intercessors, and guides for women.

Holy Mother Mary, pray to God for us.

The mother of the Light, the Theotokos, that never sets illumined thee and freed thee from the darkness of passions. O Mary who has received the Grace of the Spirit, give light to those who praise thee with faith.<sup>41</sup>

The following verse, which depicts Mother Mary as the key to the Theotokos, also plays on the idea of linking the human and divine, another wisdom motif.

O Holy Mary, offer thy prayer of supplication  
to the compassionate Theotokos  
and through thine intercessions open unto  
me the door that leads to God.<sup>42</sup>

Mother Mary was included in Symeon Metaphrastes' tenth-century *Menologion* and became a model for other more obscure, to us, women saints. Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos is one local ninth-

<sup>38</sup>Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, ed. and trans. *The Lenten Triodion* (London, 1978), p. 378.

<sup>39</sup>St. Andrew of Crete, c. 660-740, Archbishop of Crete, originated the canon form and wrote many canons himself, including the above.

<sup>40</sup>Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, *The Lenten Triodion*, p. 380.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid. pp. 408-09.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid. p. 387.

century saint who is mentioned as a parallel in Byzantine writings.<sup>43</sup> However, none reached the level of fame and popularity that Mary of Egypt did.

The same was true in the West. According to Baring-Gould's account of Saint Mary of Egypt, "In 1059 Luke, Abbot of Carbonne in Calabria, carried away her entire body from Jerusalem and placed the body in the Abbey Church." But there are relics of Mary's body in Rome and all over Spain, Italy, Portugal, and elsewhere.<sup>44</sup>

The narration of her life also spread quickly. There were numerous translations into Latin and more elaborated stories into the Romance languages. According to Alvar, the earliest translation from the Latin into English was a ninth-century Alfric version. In the twelfth century, there are numerous French and Spanish versions, some in prose, and later ones in verse.<sup>45</sup> The story became enormously popular in the late middle ages in Western Europe, but a change had occurred in the emphasis. The tale was cast off from its monastic moorings, and Mary became the focal point, illustrating to the masses how even such a sinner can repent.<sup>46</sup> One version plunges into a long account of Mary's origin and childhood, and another opens with a long preamble concerning the universal need for penance, and the availability of God's grace to even the most outrageous sinner. Another version singles out her parents for blame, and still another emphasizes her beauty and points out how outer beauty destroys inner beauty and how Mary, now outwardly decayed, has inner beauty.<sup>47</sup>

By not understanding the monastic elements of this story of Mother Mary, one can miss its significance. That Abelard in the West in the twelfth century had this perspective, at least to some extent, is suggested by his comment that the story shows that women do better in the monastic enterprise than men.<sup>48</sup>

Mary, however, goes beyond being a monastic paradigm, as

<sup>43</sup>Theophilos Joannou, *Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολόγια*, (1884 reprint ed. Zentral-antiquariat, 1973), pp. 1-17; also H. Delehaye, *Melange d'hagiographie grecque et latin* (Brussels, 1968), p. 304.

<sup>44</sup>Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, s.v. "Saint Mary of Egypt."

<sup>45</sup>Alvar, *Maria Egipciaca*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>46</sup>Walker, *Estoria de Santa Maria Egipciaca*, p. x.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. p. xxi.

<sup>48</sup>Kunze, *Studien zur Legende*, p. 24.

her great popularity in both the East and the West attests. She gives some insight, both into the concept of *theosis*, as spiritual aging, and into wisdom as a feminine characteristic. Mother Mary and her advocate, the Theotokos, with whom she is closely linked in the story, are wisdom figures, illuminators, intercessors, and guides. They are manifestations of God's divine plan — Heaven and Earth come together in them.

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*The Champions of the Church.* By Dennis Michelis. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1986. Pp. 182. \$7.95, paper.

This is a delightful and very useful book. The life of the flesh transformed into one of the Spirit: this is the message of this book. This too is the example put forth by the saints whose lives are so simply and beautifully recounted by Fr. Michelis from a number of hagiographical sources — some better than others, but sources blended into wholly readable and inspiring narratives for more than fifty separate saints. There is a lack of the literary beauty which marks classical hagiography in these narratives, but this is simply because the book obviously wishes to present the lives of the saints in their starkest form for the simple believer. As well, the mystical theology that underlies the notion of the saint in Orthodoxy, the transformation in Christ as “gods within God,” the archetypal message of divinization embodied in every saint — this dimension is missing. But it is replaced by a dimension of simple piety that is essential to spiritual inspiration, which is in turn indispensable for immersion into the deeper and higher spiritual life. Any shortcomings that my reservations might suggest, then, are subsumed within the all-important task of presenting basic spiritual readings to those who may not be facile in more complex spiritual volumes. This task we must always honor, just as we must praise and encourage those who undertake it.

At the end of each short life of the saints portrayed in this book there is appended a section called “Reflections,” relating the life to some biblical passage. This is not only appropriate but, in the case of the present text, very well done. The selections are clear, simple, and precisely related to the principles embodied in each saint’s life.

There is also a prayer attached to the life of each saint — a prayer of the expository type familiar to Protestants. Piously done, these prayers are, nonetheless, somewhat bothersome. The Orthodox Church does not disallow private prayer, but Orthodox are warned by many Fathers to avoid “talking” to God in what is a form of prayer borrowed from Protestantism: with familiarity and without the fear and awe that we see in traditional prayers from the Fathers. It is easy to see why this is. Saint Basil, when he asked to recite the Liturgy in his own words, was visited by holy personages who gave him words. Imagine! Even a saint of the ac-

complishment of Saint Basil the Great could not form prayers without the aid of the holy ones. What comes, in the form of prayer, from the Fathers and from those transformed in Christ, is without doubt salutary and correct. Prayers from our own unenlightened lips, however meaningful in private prayer and however sincere, must be offered forth with great caution. So true is this that many great Fathers, when asked to speak forth on matters of faith or to pray extemporaneously, would simply repeat the prayers of Fathers gone before them or remain silent. Remembering this, I would make this one note of criticism with regard to this book.

Finally, I must add that, despite the great value of this book, one must never *stop* at a simplistic understanding of hagiography, of the saints and what they represent. Their lives are a starting place, a first rung on a ladder that leads up to images of virtue in such writings as those pertaining to the desert Fathers and to the lofty heights of the *Philokalia*, in which we are not only inspired but in which we learn of the very nature of inspiration itself as it dwells within our hearts. If we begin with a simple life of some Orthodox saint, we can journey toward unheard-of mysteries of the Spirit. If we rest only in those lives, thinking them to be the totality of the faith, we can err in the direction of denying the expansive nature of our faith. I thus end my comments with an equivocal commendation for a very fine book and a warning to those who might misuse or misinterpret such a book.

*Bishop Chrysostomos*  
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

*Corpus Christi*. By Michael O'Carroll. Wilmington: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1988. Pp. 221. \$42.00, cloth.

This encyclopedia of Roman Catholic and ecumenical topics on the Eucharist is a welcome resource for both the scholar and the interested student of the Church's teachings, piety and history. Entries cover major Roman Catholic documents, theological figures and those who have contributed to popular devotion in the Catholic community. Major patristic developments, Reformers, and Orthodox and Protestant positions are also included, though the ecumenical reader will note a certain Catholic perspective in

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*The Wheat of Christ.* By Dimitry Mishetsky. Seattle, Washington: St. Nectarios Press, 1988. Pp. vii + 28. Illustrated with Line Drawings by Yelena Gaponova. \$3.00, paper.

*The Contest of the Holy Martyr Dorothy and with Her Christina, Callista and Theophilus.* Translated from the Russian. Revised Edition. Seattle, Washington: St. Nectarios Press, 1988. Illustrated with Line Drawings by Myroslava Ponomarchuk. Pp. 6 + 16. \$2.50, paper.

Publications about and by Christian saints and martyrs have become increasingly sought after, both by the faithful and by researchers looking for original sources by which to understand the development of early Christianity more accurately. St. Nectarios Press has striven to fill a much felt need in this area.

The latest booklets by the St. Nectarios Press feature *The Wheat of Christ*, a series of poems on Saint Ignatius of Antioch (December 20), Saint Thais (October 8), Saint Panteleimon (July 27), Saint Dorothy (February 6), and Saint Adrian (August 26), entitled respectively "The Wheat of Christ"; "The Change"; "Panteleimon"; "The Answer"; and "Real Power." Written by a Russian emigré, self-taught in English in the refugee camps of Germany by using an English Bible, Dimitry Mishetsky came to the United States where he worked selling insurance and served as secretary and translator for Bishop Andrei of the Russian Orthodox Convent of Novo Diveyevo in Spring Valley, New York, and where he also wrote in his adopted tongue verses that expressed "the treasures of the Faith he so beautifully expressed in Russian poetry" (p. v). He had an abiding love for the saints, which is readily apparent in the present collection, an intense love for God which he saw in their particular struggles to preserve their faith.

Saint Dorothy suffered martyrdom under the Roman Emperor Diocletian on February 6, 303, according to tradition. Her *Life* was preserved in Latin from which it was translated into Russian in the collection of St. Dimitry of Rostov. It is from that collection that it was translated into English. Described is the martyrdom of Dorothy, the sisters Christina and Callista, and the Roman centurion Theophilus at the hands of the governor Sapricius. Saint Dorothy proclaims that it is "Christ, the Son of God" alone for whom she is willing to die, and explains to Sapricius that "In the

omnipotence of His Godhead He is everywhere, in His human nature we confess Him as being in heaven and sitting at the right hand of His Father. He is one Godhead with God the Father and with the Holy Spirit. It is He who calls us to the paradise of eternal joy . . .” (pp. 4-5). It is He who is “our merciful and skilled physician”; “Savior, because He saves all”; “Redeemer, because He redeems all”; “Deliverer, because He gives freedom to all”; “Invisible Being, Giving and Giver of all life”; and “the Truth” as contrasted to the idols (pp. 6-15).

Both *The Wheat of Christ* and *The Contest of the Holy Martyr Dorothy* elucidate the role and function of the martyred saints in the history of the Christian Church and their significance for the faithful today.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*Doors of Perception: Icons and Their Spiritual Significance* with an Appendix by Richard Temple. By John Bagglely. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988. Pp. xii (including map) + 160 (including 18 plates). \$37.50, hardbound; \$12.95, paper.

*Doors of Perception* is an introduction to Orthodox Christian iconography by an Anglican who has developed an appreciation and love of Orthodox icons. John Bagglely has been vicar of St. Peter’s, De Beauvoir Town, Hackney, London, and is presently Team Rector of the Bicester Team of Parishes in Oxfordshire. He indicates that his “book is written from within the Western Christian tradition, and primarily with Western Christian readers in mind. It is intended to foster the interest in icons that already exists among many Western Christians, and to take that interest beyond the level of merely looking at religious pictures” (pp. 3-4). But what he has to say will be of use to Orthodox readers and viewers as well because he has the vantage point of the interested and educated observer, especially when he indicates that “icons form a door into the divine realm, a meeting point of divine grace and human need; moreover, they are also a way by which we enter more deeply into our own interior life. And that journey, that exploration is aided by considering the icons from the different standpoint of history, theology, imagery and spirituality” (p. 4).

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## Reviews

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*The Eucharist.* By Alexander Schmemmann. Trans. Paul Kachur. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988. Pp. 245, paper.

As the translator and editors point out, this posthumous work by Father Alexander is an unpolished text. This is obvious in the inadequacy of footnotes and citations and in the lack of an index and other scholarly apparatuses. The text is sometimes disjointed and unrepresentative of the stylistic beauty that one is accustomed to finding in Father Alexander's works — though the authors and translators acknowledge this shortcoming, too, in their prefatory remarks about the book. Despite all of these deficits, this book contains some wonderful wisdom about the Eucharist and commentaries on liturgical theology which, while I may take exception to them, are the marks of a provocative and original thinker and scholar. Particularly outstanding is the seventh chapter in this book, "The Sacrament of Unity."

As I have noted, provocative and interesting though Father Alexander's work may be, there are a number of things with which I would take exception. Firstly, the book is written in the critical style of one examining the Liturgy as a mere historical phenomenon. There are copious comments about its development and transformation involving a deviation from the ideals and views of the primitive Church. This is, of course, vogue now, as the Orthodox Church enters into the spirit of liturgical reform that marked the Latin Church in the sixties. Rather than seek out and find pastoral or spiritual reasons for the development of the liturgical rubrics, rather than attribute to change a certain action of the Holy Spirit, this book sets forth its criticism in the spirit of renovation — albeit in the name of a return to the ancient. But despite this critical

spirit, Father Alexander's emerging theme throughout the book is that the Liturgy, tied as it is to the divine, is permeated by the attributes of that divinity. Arguing so persuasively against a mystical understanding of the Liturgy, he leads one, in some of his beautiful and inspiring remarks, to that very mystagogy which is the Liturgy.

Let me illustrate this point with a reference to Father Alexander's treatment of the kiss of peace in the Divine Liturgy (pp. 133 ff.). He decries the fact that the exhortation that we "love one another," which precedes the kiss of peace, is now no longer an "action," but an "exclamation." In the spirit of liturgical reform that led to the insipid "hand-shake" in the current Latin mass, he subtly calls for the return of an exchange of congregational love by the removal of the kiss of peace from the altar and its restoration among the people. Indeed, from a pastoral sense, I believe that the representative kiss of peace between the clergy was taken from the congregation as an act of propriety. Removed from the zeal of the early Church, how many of us today, *en masse*, really understand such an exchange with the purity of those who awaited virtual martyrdom for their faith? This notion Father Alexander rejects. Yet, within the course of his commentary, he admits that liturgical exclamation is itself a form of worship, lifting up words into action, unifying the word and the spirit.

Secondly, one might rightly observe that the current emphasis in liturgical scholarship on the "Sacrament of the Word," the "Sacrament of Offering," etc. (and each chapter of the book concerns the "Sacrament" of some aspect of worship) is so manifestly imitative of the Latin "revolution" in liturgical studies that followed Second Vatican as to be embarrassing. We Orthodox should be capable of something a bit deeper than mere imitation, especially when we reflect on where such renovationist "scholarship" has led the Roman Catholic Church. Search as one might in the Patristic texts, there is little emphasis on a spirit which would transform the vivifying mystery of the Eucharist into a sacrament of this or that "catch-word" concept. But again here, it must be noted, that despite the "trendy" language, Father Alexander makes some observations about the life of the mysteries that show a richness of Patristic knowledge.

Lacking spiritual sobriety, as we do today, we often approach the works of our outstanding Orthodox scholars with undue awe



and a lack of attention to their deficits and limitations. This is neither fruitful nor actually Patristic. I would advise the reader to approach this book with caution, setting aside the aura of awe that some have attached to the late Father Alexander, who was a theologian who worked with brilliance within the body of Patristic data, but who unfortunately often compromised these tools with an all-too-renovationist concept of certain areas of theological and historical concern — something boldly obvious in this text. By such statements I would not wish in any way to denigrate Father Alexander's remarkable achievements or contributions to Orthodox thought, but simply to put them in proper context.

This book is well worth reading.

*Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi*  
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

*The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life.* Introduced and translated by Sebastian Brock. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987. Pp. xliii + 363. Apparatus and Indices. \$50.00, cloth. \$19.95, paper.

The translator of this volume, who has also supplied us with an extensive introductory commentary on the so-called Syriac Fathers and the "Church of the East," or the non-Chalcedonian Eastern Christian communities, is a lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac at Oxford University. The texts are drawn from little-known Syrian sources — some unpublished — that have, for the most part, never appeared in a European language. As such, they are fascinating pieces of historical data that should command the attention of anyone interested in Eastern Christianity and, most certainly, of those with an interest in the Christianity of a geographical area that can rightly be called the birthplace of much of our Christian liturgical, monastic, and spiritual tradition — both Eastern and Western.

I have no abilities at all in Semitic languages, so I cannot comment on the loyalty of the texts in this book to the original materials. However, others with such abilities have commented favorably on the translation, and the credentials of the translator are such that one must have trust in his facility with the original. Certainly the

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*The Evergetinos/ A Complete Text.* Volume 1 of the First Book. Trans. and ed. Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios, John V. Petropoulos, Gregory Telepneff, and Hieromonk Ambrosios. Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 105. \$6.50, paper.

Volume 1 of the First Book of *The Evergetinos* is only the first part of a major and very worthy project. The translators have used the 1977 edition of Archimandrite Langes' four-volume Greek text, which contains Saint Nikodemos's edited version of the original eleventh century manuscript, which also contains translations of and about the Desert Fathers in modern Greek. The current translators worked with both to get the best English translation possible: "Our purpose in this translation is to provide a readable text of the standard collection of the sayings and aphorisms of the Desert Fathers as they are available to the average Greek reader" (p. 4 - unnumbered). This they are certainly on their way to doing. They include the 1783 introduction by Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite.

The seven "hypotheses" (I myself would have preferred the translation "subject" or "themes") clearly indicate the subjects that each section deals with in a way that is both personal and illustrative. The first declares that no one should despair ever, even if he has committed many sins, but should have hope that through repentance he shall be saved. The second affirms that as long as we are in the present life, we must do good here and not delay until the future because after death we cannot set things aright. The third shows us how we should repent. The fourth teaches us that the afflicted should be guided slowly in the works of repentance, while the fifth indicates that we must always call to mind death and the future judgment because one who does not continually expect death and future judgment is easily overcome by the passions; the sixth proclaims that the joy of heaven is inexpressible, as is the glory which awaits the saints; therefore, we must remember with our whole souls the joy of heaven and the glory of the saints because in all that we accomplish, nothing is equal to that glory and joy, while the seventh demonstrates that many times the souls of virtuous people are made cheerful at the time of death by some divine overshadowing and in this way leave the body.

In this collection the serious Christian will be able to find solace,

counsel, and spiritual enlightenment. "In the spiritual laboratory of the Egyptian deserts, these seekers after salvation, enlightenment, and union with Christ brought into sharp focus the teachings of the Apostles and the message of Holy Writ in their daily lives and activities . . . And . . . are perfect models for every modern Christian who wishes sincerely to imitate those who have walked the path toward moral and spiritual perfection" (back cover).

In this day and age of moral corruption and decadence, it is most encouraging and inspiring to return to the early Christian Fathers and their high moral teachings. We look forward to the remaining volumes in this fine series.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*The Ministry of the Church: Image of Pastoral Care.* By Joseph J. Allen. Foreword by Patriarch Ignatius IV of Great Antioch and all the East. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 232. \$8.95, paper.

The author, a specialist in Pastoral Theology and Care, places special emphasis throughout his book on the word *ministry*. For him, in accordance with Scriptural injunction, "to minister is to serve (*diakonēσαι*).” He declares early and clearly that his "study is a simple study in its intent and format. Since among all the theologians with an Orthodox or Eastern Christian background, none have written about the Church with such a focus on the ministry, my prayer and hope is that this study will find its contribution" (p. 11). Father Joseph Allen sees the ministry as service and the one who serves as appointed by God, a disciple called by God, an apostle, one "sent" by God. The ministry as service is the Church's ministry and "There is no true ministry which is not that of the Church, for the Church is Christ's Body in the world" (p. 14). The functions which Father Allen sees as generic to Orthodox ministry are (1) ministry is doing something; (2) for the advent of the Kingdom; (3) expressed in public; (4) realized in such forms as witnessing, celebrating, guiding and teaching; (5) given in behalf of community (in leadership and prophecy); and (6) is a gift (charism) grounded in the faith of either baptism or ordina-

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**The  
Greek  
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Review**



Volume 34  
Number 4  
Winter 1989

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### THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

*Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate*

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# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

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in 1054 intensified the differences between the two traditions.

In many ways, this small publication stresses the ways in which Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism are different and decries the negative impact that an essentially Protestant Ecumenical Movement has had on the Orthodox Church worldwide — from the Ecumenical Patriarch to local parishes. *The Roman West and the Byzantine East* reminds the reader that there are differences — critical ones — in comparing the two views. Rome has always taken a more juridical and legalistic stance, with great emphasis on the primacy and (since the nineteenth century) the infallibility of the Pope, a position erroneously based on the forged documents of the eighth or ninth century, known as the “Donations of Constantine” and on the divergent Carolingian theology of the Franks. For the East the rock “upon which the Church was built was the confession of Peter in the Christ, not on Peter himself. The Byzantines assumed that the Church is divine and history is the story of its divine manifestation. We are reminded that for the Orthodox Byzantines, theologizing began with the assumption that God exists (not whether his existence can be proved). For them “God is what is and what is not; that is, He encompasses all that we are and know and all that we are not and cannot know. He is known to us in His energies . . . but He also abides in His essence. Through His energies, we can know God, both as He is made manifest in the world and within us; in His essence, however, He can never be known, since His essence cannot be circumscribed by human thought” (p. 40). Orthodoxy stresses not so much the expiatory nature of Christ’s sacrifice as the redemptive act, “a merciful act of condescension by which God has redeemed the human from his transgression against the course which God freely offered him” (p. 45). For the Orthodox “Heaven is the final attainment of man’s proper nature, of his divinity within God” (p. 46) and “Hell is a consequence of man’s intransigence, the result of his inability to overcome the fallen human proclivity for sin and his failure to cultivate the divine nature of man revealed in the example and expiatory Sacrifice of Christ” (p. 47). The Orthodox view of man and salvation grows out of a natural statement of human condition and not a juridical one. Grace and salvation are not mechanically dispensed, as in Roman Catholicism.

Throughout, the authoritarian side of the papacy (the pope as the supreme authority) is pointed out as firmly established in the

Roman Catholic tradition, even though "There is simply no historical data to support such an idea" (p. 51). For the Orthodox the authority of the Church rests in its general conscience, as expressed in the synods of the Church. For the Orthodox the supreme authority is Christ himself, for he alone is head of the Church.

The authors of *The Roman West and the Byzantine East* want to recall the attention of Orthodox readers to the principal features of their religious beliefs as distinct from Western beliefs (both Catholic and Protestant) and "In this return to the criterion of an authentic faith, Orthodox and non-Orthodox have a common task — they are joined in a unity of spirit and effort. Their common discovery, indeed, is what eventually bridges the chasm between East and West, bringing the East to what it should be and the West to what it was. In this lies for us traditional Orthodox the ultimate Christian witness of brotherhood and love" (p. 59).

*John E. Rexine*  
Colgate University

*Νηστεία καὶ Ἐπιστήμη* [Fasting and Science]. By Constantine P. Cavarinos. Athens: Orthodox Press Editions, 1988. Pp. 80. \$3.00, paper.

The main substance of this publication was originally delivered as a lecture to the Plomarion Club "Benjamin the Lesvian" on April 15, 1984, Palm Sunday. It was subsequently published in the ecclesiastical newspaper *The Orthodox Press* on April 4th, 11th, 18th, 25th, and May 2nd, 1986. It was then translated into English by the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies in Etna, California, and appeared in the *Orthodox Tradition*, vol. 5, nos. 1, 2, and 3, 1988. It now appears in the form of a small book for the first time with the addition of selections of passages on fasting from ancient and contemporary physicians, the Old and New Testaments, and from the texts of the Apostles, the Church Fathers, and hymnographers. It forms a compact volume bringing together scientific and religious views for the practice of fasting. It is especially appropriate in this age of special diets and special food and exercise plans.

What Dr. Cavarinos, long-time President of the Institute for

Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies and erstwhile Professor of Philosophy at various American Universities, has sought to do in this brief work is to compare the bases, purposes, methods, and results of fasting, according to the religious practices and traditions of the Greek Orthodox faith. His comparison and bibliography reveal some practices and purposes that both hold in common. The scientists are interested in promoting the good health of the body; religion the good health of the soul as well as the body. Whether it is the one-meal-a-day or two-meal-a-day plan, each recommends limitations of one's diet in terms of intake and in terms of the kind of food that is ingested: "The Orthodox Church justifies the fasts of abstinence, one meal and two meals through which the amount of food is reduced on certain days and during certain periods. The medical profession . . . reduces the quantity of food to nothing for a restricted period of time in order to give the organism the opportunity to accomplish its own detoxification" (p.30).

Dr. Cavarinos includes in his collection of citations a particularly apt quotation from Saint Symeon the New Theologian that reinforces his main text:

Fasting, where it is the physician of our souls, has the habit, in case of one Christian of humbling his body, of another of soothing his anger; from another it drives away sleep and to another it brings the desire to do good; and of another it clears his mind, and liberates him from evil thoughts; and of another it subdues his untamed and uncontrollable tongue . . . and another it keeps his eyes from looking here and there and busying themselves with what one and another does, but makes each one pay attention to himself and to remember his own sins and faults. Fasting refines in short the covering of our sin, where it is found above the soul, and drives from it the intelligible darkness, as the sun drives away the fog. Fasting makes us see the spiritual atmosphere clearly in which always shines the conceivable sun of justice, our Lord Jesus Christ" [p.73].

It is ultimately Dr. Cavarinos's goal to demonstrate the value of fasting for body and soul and that it plays an organic role in Orthodox Christian life, bound as it is inextricably with the practice of faith, prayer, charity, discretion, and every other virtue.

*John E. Rexine*  
Colgate University



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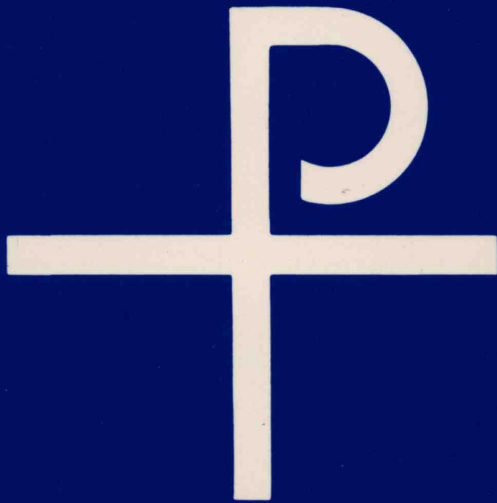
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## Reviews

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Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Γιά νά νοιώσουμε τήν Ἑλληνική Ὁρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία* [*Understanding the Greek Orthodox Church*]. Translated from the English by Basil S. Sotiropoulos. Thessalonike: P. Pournaras Editions, 1989. Pp. ix + 240. \$15.00, paper.

The Rev. Dr. Demetrios J. Constantelos, Charles Cooper Townsend Distinguished Professor of History and Religious Studies at Stockton College in Pomona, New Jersey, is one of the most productive and provocative clergy-teacher-scholars of the Greek Orthodox Church in America. His *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (Rutgers, 1968) is widely known and cited in the scholarly world and his *An Old Faith for Modern Man* (1964), *Marriage, Sexuality, and Celibacy* (1975), *Understanding the Greek Orthodox Church* (1982), and *Society and Philanthropy in the Late Medieval Greek World* (1986) have seen wide use within and without the Orthodox Church. His latest book in Greek is based on *The Greek Orthodox Church* (New York, 1967), *Marriage, Sexuality, Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* (Minneapolis, 1975), and articles that have appeared in *The Orthodox Observer*, *The Way*, the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, *Concilium*, and *Jurist* but have been rewritten and edited for publication in this very interesting volume.

The present Greek volume is a synthetic work. Father Constantelos embraces anthropological, sociological, and historical views as well as dogma, ethics, church history, apologetics, liturgies, and rites. The observations are the result of his experience as a clergyman as well as a historian, theologian, and teacher. His book has a Greek orientation because it is especially directed at those whose first language is Greek or who belong to the Greek-speaking Orthodox Churches. After the Prologue, Father Constantelos divides

his synthesis into six chapters that range over a wide variety of topics. Chapter One is entitled "Religion and Man" and embraces five sections on "What is Religion?"; "God and History"; "The Hebrew Preparation"; "The Greek Propaideia"; "Christianity: The Fulfillment of Time," while Chapter Two is called "The Faith of the Orthodox Church" and its four subsections deal with "The God of Orthodoxy"; "The Theanthropic Christ"; "The Holy Spirit"; and "The Church." "Life in the Church" is the title of the Third Chapter which covers six topics: "Initiation and Illumination"; "Bread from Heaven"; "Renaissance and Continuous Ascent"; "Clay Receptacles, with a Divine Mission"; "Coworkers of the Creator"; and "For the Health of the Body and Soul." The Fourth Chapter has the title "The Orthodox Church in History" and surveys (1) Ancient Times; (2) The Medieval Period; and (3) The Contemporary Church, while "Signs of Faith and Experience," the Fifth Chapter, discusses "Mysticism and the Orthodox Faith"; "Scriptures"; "Trumpets of Love and Holiness"; and "For the Museum or for the Marketplace?" The Sixth and final chapter is on "The Greek Church in the English-speaking World" with three topics or areas: "Greek Orthodoxy in America"; "The Greek Orthodox in England"; and "The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia." There is a brief Epilogue that emphasizes the continuity and integrity of Orthodoxy and an excellent bibliography (pp. 221-227), some of it in Greek but mostly in English, plus an index of proper names and a table of Scriptural passages.

A book of this kind deserves the widest possible circulation because it seeks to present a total view of the Greek Orthodox Church worldwide. Father Constantelos indicates in his Prologue that his book "has more a personal rather than a traditional character. It is the distillation of personal faith, knowledge, and religious experience, an expression of love for the Greek heritage and Christian Orthodox faith, life, and worship" but at the same time the book has an "objective and pan-Orthodox character," and much of what is contained in this book reflects "the common heritage of all Orthodox Christians," but it is also Father Constantelos's contention that "Greek Orthodoxy preserves a powerful historical conscience and stresses the importance that Greek intellectual and cultural heritage has on our religious life" (p. vii). If there is an undying theme to Father Constantelos's book, it is surely that Hellenism served as *propaideia* to and for Christianity,

and the Hellenism is an unbroken part of Christianity. Though some of what Dr. Constantelos describes may seem chauvinistically Greek, his point is not nationalistic but cultural. Father Constantelos believes that an examination of the historical record reinforces his conviction that the Greek Orthodox Faith and Tradition will be preserved because they are worth preserving whole.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

Ioanna Tsatsos, *Footprints*. English version by Jean Demos. Brookline, Massachusetts: Hellenic College Press, 1989. Pp. 67. \$5.00, paperback.

Ioanna Tsatsos is the wife of the late President of Greece, Constantine Tsatsos, and the sister of the late George Seferis, Greece's first Nobel Prize Winner in Literature. She is a distinguished author and poet in her own right, and this is her third book published by the Hellenic College Press. The Greek title is *Ichnelasies*. It is perhaps what might be called a contemplation on her visit to the Holy Land — a spiritual guide that beckons other prospective pilgrims to her call.

The five separate but related sections of this small book are entitled: (1) "A Call"; (2) "A Few Words"; (3) "An Unexpected Invitation"; (4) "A Gate Will Be Closed"; and (5) "The Lord Shall Come In." Much time is expended on preparation for the trip by contemplating on the Old Testament, especially the Prophetic and historical books, and the Psalms in preparation for the actual pilgrimage. Special emphasis is placed on the role of the Theotokos.

*Footprints* is not a travel guidebook or a book of poetry, though there is some poetry in it. It is a highly personal reflection on preparing for and visiting the Holy Land as a faithful Orthodox with a deep commitment and love for Christ. Others could benefit from this reflection.

John E. Rexine  
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## The Human Body According to Saint Gregory Palamas

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GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU

THE PROPER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF THE human body would also clarify both anthropology and christology. The traditional patristic and Orthodox doctrine of man is based on the biblical understanding of creation and salvation. In the early Christian formation of doctrine there were two trends simultaneously impacting human thought: that of classical philosophy and the Hebrew biblical tradition.<sup>1</sup>

The classical philosophers looked upon matter, including the human body, as evil or an admixture of good and evil.<sup>2</sup> For classical philosophy, all material phenomena were viewed as genesis and corruption. This is also true of man as well. For that reason Plato espoused the doctrine that the real man is the soul and that the body is a shadow. He states that, "the soul is in all respects superior to the body, and that even in life what makes each one of us to be what we are is only the soul," and he continues to say that, "the body follows us about in likeness of each of us, and therefore . . . the bodies . . . [are] our shades or images" and "the true and immortal being of each one of us which is called the soul . . ."<sup>3</sup>

For Plato and classical philosophers in general the physical

<sup>1</sup>John S. Romanides, "Man and His True Life According to the Greek Orthodox Service Book," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 1 (1954) 64ff. John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (London, 1964), p. 138.

<sup>2</sup>Plato, *Statesman*, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup>Laws 12.959. The body is inferior to the soul, Laws 5.728, 743.

human body is evil, corruptible, and temporary and even a tomb of the soul<sup>4</sup> and a prison of the soul.<sup>5</sup>

Contrary to Greek philosophical anthropology, the Old Testament views man as body and soul. The Old Testament opposes the Greek dualistic view of the soul belonging intrinsically to a higher world and the body as its prison. The soul is the vital element for the body. The idea of immortality of the soul is foreign to the Old Testament which teaches the belief in the resurrection of the bodies.<sup>6</sup>

The Christian understanding of man as body and soul is deeply rooted in biblical anthropology as it evolved in the Hebrew Old Testament. As in the Old Testament, New Testament Orthodox Christianity teaches that the whole man, body and soul, was created for immortality.<sup>7</sup> The Orthodox Christian doctrine of man as body and soul is also clearly indicated in the prayer book where prayers are offered for the healing of the soul and body (εἰς ἱάσιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος).<sup>8</sup>

Using both Hellenic and Hebraic sources Saint Gregory Palamas and Barlaam the Calabrian debated the issue in fourteenth-century Byzantium. Palamas espoused the biblical Orthodox Christian doctrine that man is body and soul and opposed the classical Greek philosophical view that the body is evil. He makes his arguments clear and uses biblical and patristic thought as evidence to support his position. Palamas' teaching on the human body will be the topic of the present paper.

Barlaam claimed that Greek philosophy had equal importance to revelation in the theological doctrines of the Church. So he claimed in a Platonic way that the body does not participate in ascendance toward God. The soul and mind is that which prays and is affected by prayer because the soul is immaterial. Perfect

<sup>4</sup>Phaedros 250; Gorgias 493.

<sup>5</sup>Phaedros 81, 82, 83.

<sup>6</sup>Romanides, "Man and His True Life," p. 64. Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting*, trans. R. H. Fuller (Cleveland, 1966), pp. 46 ff. Also J. S. Romanides, *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἁμάρτημα*, (Athens, 1957), pp. 41-42. See also monk Makarios Simonopetrites, "Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑβραϊκὴ καὶ Χριστιανικὴ ἀντιληψὶς τοῦ σώματος," *Σύναξη* 4 (Fall 1982) 14-21.

<sup>7</sup>Romanides, *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἁμάρτημα*, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup>Romanides, "Man and His True Life," p. 65. Also, Georges Florovsky believes: "Man's soul and body are two aspects of one single entity." See Nicholas O. Lossky, *History of Russian Philosophy*, (New York, 1951), p. 392.

prayer for Barlaam means perfect liberation from matter. The participation of the body with the soul in the gifts of the Holy Spirit is absolutely unacceptable for him. Whatever detracts the soul from ascending and attaches it to the body, darkens the soul and prevents it from coming closer to God.<sup>9</sup>

Palamas, in answering the Barlaamite arguments from an Orthodox perspective, begins with the sacred Scriptures and also uses patristic and church tradition. On the basis of the biblical presupposition, Palamas refuted the philosophical approach of Barlaam and articulated the Orthodox doctrine of the human body.<sup>10</sup>

We may set forth the Palamite thesis that man as God's image is body and soul and that they interact and ascend towards God. He rejects the philosophical view that the body is a "tomb" or a "prison" of the soul. The body as well as the soul are created by God *ex nihilo* to attain the ultimate theosis in paradise. The coming of Christ to the world included the redemption of the body and ultimate resurrection of both body and soul.<sup>11</sup> This thesis of Palamas will be examined and documented in the present work.

Saint Gregory Palamas makes clear that the holy Scriptures refer to man (ἄνθρωπος) as a unique being which consists of body and soul. He rejects the idea that man is only a soul. This is not his personal opinion but the faith of the Church as is evident from the reference made to the Fathers. He specifically refers to Saint Maximos the Confessor who speaks of the whole man as body and soul who attains *theosis* through divine grace. He says: "The whole man consists of soul and body by nature, and the whole man becomes divine, both soul and body, through divine grace."<sup>12</sup> God's uncreated grace sanctifies both body and soul.

<sup>9</sup>Panagiotes Chrestou, ed., *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1, (Thessalonike, 1962), p. 345. References to Palamas' works including his *Triads* are to this critical edition unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. pp. 344-45.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. Triad 1, 3.25. St. Gregory says: "The word 'man' is not applied to either soul or body separately, but to both together, since together they have been created in the image of God." "Prosopoppeiae," PG 150.1361C. Vladimir Lossky *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, (London, 1957), p. 116. See also the significant criticism of Platonic anthropology by Claude Tresmontant, *The Origins of Christian Philosophy*, trans. Mark Pontifex (New York, 1963), pp. 74 ff.

<sup>12</sup>*Triads*, 3, 13. He says the "ὅλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος μένων κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα διὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ ὅλος γινόμενος θεὸς κατὰ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα διὰ τὴν χάριν."

No one can dispute the fact that there is a bond of union between body and soul, with no conflict between them. The soul has a strong love for the body which does not want to separate from it.<sup>13</sup> Palamas strongly emphasized that the immaterial rational nature of the soul was co-created with the earthly body and received the life-giving spirit from God which continues to give life to the body. This is evident in the fact of the spiritual love of the human soul for the body. The interaction is natural and the great love that the soul has for the body is evidenced in that it does not want to separate, except by force of interference, by great disease or external scourge.<sup>14</sup>

The Holy Spirit influences both body and soul and transforms both. That which is spiritually enjoyed by the soul is transferred to the body and that which acts on the body is spiritual. The fellowship of the body and soul makes the mutual influence and interaction of both joy and sadness possible.<sup>15</sup> The body becomes spiritual by the influence of the Holy Spirit that changes it and makes it spiritual.<sup>16</sup>

Palamas rejects that the body is evil. For him, as for the Scriptures and the Church, "sin" that dwells in man is evil. Saint Paul says, "it is no longer I that do it, but sin which dwells within me."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Romanides, *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἁμάρτημα*, p. 135. See also Florovsky, "Immortality of the soul" in *Creation and Redemption*, Collected Works, vol. 3 (Belmont, MA, 1976). He says, "Mysterious as the 'union' of soul and body indeed is, the immediate consciousness of man witnesses to the organic wholeness of his psycho-physical structure," p. 222. See also Ap. Alexandrides, "Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα," *Synodo*, 3 (Spring 1965) 16-24.

<sup>14</sup>PG 150.1148A. Romanides insists that the patristic tradition accepts man as body and soul. The separation of body and soul at death is a temporary condition until the time of the resurrection. See *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἁμάρτημα*, p. 135. See also his "Man and His True Life," p. 66 where he analyzes the funeral rite that sees the separation of body and soul as tragedy. See also my article, "The teaching of Gregory of Palamas on God," in N. M. Vaporis (ed.), *The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures: Byzantine Ecclesiastical Personalities*, No. 2, (Brookline, MA, 1975), p. 102.

<sup>15</sup>Triads, 2, 2.9. He says: "τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς πνευματικῶς εὐραιομένης ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα διαβαίνον, κ' ἂν ἐν σώματι τυγχάνῃ ἐνεργεῖν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὸν ἐστὶ," Chrestou, *Συγγράματα*, p. 514.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 1, p. 515. "μεταστοιχειοῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πνευματικὸν ποιεῖ." The body is transformed and made spiritual. The body is freed from the human lower-animal-sinful desires in both body and soul. The Holy Spirit interacts in both body and soul (the entire man) and transforms the total man into spiritual being.

<sup>17</sup>Romans 7.17.

Saint Gregory insists that the heretics, such as the Gnostics, teach that the body is a creation of the evil god. The Orthodox view of the body is that it is good. He quotes several Pauline statements which confirm his position that the body is the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit:

Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God?"<sup>18</sup>

We are his house if we hold fast our confidence and pride in our hope."<sup>19</sup>

For we are the temple of the living God."<sup>20</sup>

Palamas insists that the body is not evil but that evil may dwell in the body; that the body must be purified by the Holy Spirit.<sup>21</sup> Man seeks after God to be in the divine presence. David said: "O God, my God, unto Thee I rise at dawn. My soul hath thirsted for Thee; how often doth my flesh long after Thee in a land barren and untrodden and unwatered."<sup>22</sup> And he also said "My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God."<sup>23</sup> It is the evil dwelling in the flesh that moves man to do evil. For that reason man ought to have self-control and practice asceticism for the welfare of body and soul.<sup>24</sup> Palamas also points out that both the body and the soul sin. The soul is not unrelated to the body; although the soul may sin without the body, sin affects both body and soul. Sin interacts between flesh and soul. Christ said, "I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already

<sup>18</sup> Corinthians 6.19.

<sup>19</sup> Romans 3.6.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Corinthians 6.16. See also Panagiotes Trempeles. *Μυστικισμός άποφατισμός — καταφατική θεολογία: Μάξιμος ό Όμολογητής, και Γρηγόριος ό Παλαμάς* (Athens, 1980), 2, p. 20. Divine grace dwells in man who moves toward theosis. George Mantzarides states that *theosis* is offered to man within time"; "Tradition and Renewal in the Theology of Saint Gregory Palamas," *Eastern Church Review*, 9 (1977) 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Triad* 1, 2.1.

<sup>22</sup> Psalm 62.2. *The Psalter According to the Seventy* (Boston, 1974), p. 115.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Psalm 83.3, p. 155.

<sup>24</sup> *Triad*, 1. 2.1.

committed adultery with her in his heart."<sup>25</sup> Palamas interprets this to mean that although the body in this case did not actively participate in the sin of lust, yet the rational soul did.<sup>26</sup> This does not indicate that soul and body are separate but does show that the soul can also sin and needs to be purified and sanctified as does the body.

The human body, according to Palamas, is created by God, and is by nature good; and by the sanctifying uncreated grace of Christ, it becomes the temple of the Holy Spirit. This dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the human body as God's temple is incompatible with the Platonic and Plotinian view of "ecstasis," that is, the view that the νοῦς (intellect) leaves the body to participate in divine grace. The Platonic view espoused by Barlaam was unacceptable by the great hesychast. He was deeply rooted in biblical tradition and patristic thought which emphasized that in prayer the νοῦς (intellect) must descend into the heart, that is, to the center of the psychosomatic reality of the human being. There is need to be freed, however, from fleshly desires. The soul's exit from the body and unity with the divine reality is a classical Greek philosophical error, in fact, the greatest of all errors, and its root and source is the devil himself.<sup>27</sup>

For Palamas and the other Fathers of the Church, the body participates in prayer and helps the mind to pray. Bodily acts such as fasting, vigils, kneeling, sitting down, or standing are ways in which the body participates in prayer. This is evident from holy Scripture (Mt 17.21, Mk 9.29) and from church fathers such as Saint John Klimakos.<sup>28</sup> Prayer does not deaden the body, nor is it the passive aspect of the soul. It is rather an activity and participation, and an offering of the whole man, body and soul, to God. Saint Paul urges, "I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice,

<sup>25</sup>Mt 5.27.

<sup>26</sup>PG. 151.153C. Romanides, *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἀμάρτημα*, p. 128. Man may become a slave to the desires of the flesh which leads to separation from the Body of Christ. The Holy Spirit is given to the faithful so that Christ may dwell in their hearts.

<sup>27</sup>*Triad 1, 2.4*. "Τὸ δ' ἔξω τὸν νοῦν, οὐ τοῦ σωματικοῦ φρονήματος ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἐκεῖ νοεροῖς θεάμασιν ἐν τύχοι, τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἐστὶ πλάνης αὐτὸ τὸ κράτιστον καὶ πάσης κακοδοξίας ρίζα καὶ πηγὴ, δαιμόνων εὖρημα καὶ παιδεῦμα γεννητικὸν ἀνοίας καὶ γέννημα ἀπονοίας," Chrestou, *Συγγράμματα*, p. 397.

<sup>28</sup>*Triads 2, 2.4; 2.6; 2.7*.

holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship.’<sup>29</sup> Palamas points out that the offerings which the Scriptures refer to are common to body and soul. It is important to understand God’s commandment to offer the human body as a sacrifice to God, but first it is to be purified and sanctified. The same holds true for the soul because the energies are common to both.<sup>30</sup> As the offering to God is common to body and soul, so are the blessings bestowed upon them. This is one unique sign of the unity of man. The body participates with the soul in the spiritual gifts. The spiritual gifts that come to the body and soul from the Holy Spirit even benefit the physical body which receives spiritual sensitivities and is able to perceive supernatural-spiritual visions. Furthermore, the body becomes a source of miracle working as is evident from numerous relics of saints. This is an indication that the body participates in *theosis*. It is evident that in the incarnation of the divine Logos, Christ, both body and soul, were participants.<sup>31</sup> The body may become slave to the fleshly desires of this world and be separated from Christ and his grace. This leaves the flesh as dead matter without the life-giving spirit. The holiness of the body is evidenced by the virtue attained by the saints of the Old Testament and of the Church after Christ.<sup>32</sup>

The greatest argument that Palamas makes against Barlaam is that of the incarnation of the divine Logos. How can one speak of the body as evil since God decided to take up the human body in Jesus Christ. Palamas says this is an ineffable fellowship; Christ became our brother who became body and blood.<sup>33</sup> Christ, the

<sup>29</sup>Rom 12.1. He also refers to Psalm 102. See also Archimandrite Vasileios, Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita, “Συμμετοχή τοῦ σώματος στήν προσευχή” *Σύναξη*, 4 (Fall 1982) 61-62.

<sup>30</sup>*Triads* 2.20.

<sup>31</sup>*Triads* 2, 2.12. This is an important argument for the use of relics in the Orthodox Church. The sanctification of the body makes miracles possible and the faithful venerate relics. See also “Τὰ ἅγια Λείψανα,” *Σύναξη*, 4 (Fall 1982) 35-49. Also Andreas I. Phytakes, *Λείψανα καὶ τάφοι μαρτύρων κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς πρώτους αἰῶνας* (Athens, 1955). See also Anestes G. Kaselopoulos, *Πάθη καὶ ἀρετὲς στὴ διδασκαλία τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ* (Athens, 1982), p. 182. Theosis is possible in this life as is evident from the experience of Mount Tabor by the Apostles.

<sup>32</sup>*Triads* 1, 2.10. See also Romanides, *Τὸ προπατορικὸν ἁμάρτημα* p. 128. Also Monk Theokletos, Dionysiatou, *Ὁ Ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς: Ὁ Βίος καὶ ἡ θεολογία του 1296-1359*, (Thessalonike, 1976), p. 109.

<sup>33</sup>S. Oikonomou, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ὁμιλίας κβ’* (Athens, 1861), p. 207.

Logos of God did not only become soul, not a different body from our own, but he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin as announced by the archangel of God. He came to free the world from sin. He interacted with the world and ineffably cleansed the human race from sin.<sup>34</sup> The Logos took up soul and body and deified them both. Palamas emphasized that the incarnate Logos of God through the deified soul, deified the body.<sup>35</sup> The Logos honored the body as a rejection of those who consider the immaterial spirits higher and deified because they do not possess a body.<sup>36</sup>

Another aspect that Palamas emphasizes is that eucharistic union is received by the faithful in holy Communion. Everyone who receives the holy Eucharist becomes one with Christ's body and spirit. He says, we not only become his followers, but we become one with the body of Christ, through receiving the divine bread. Furthermore, we not only become one with his body but we also become one with his spirit.<sup>37</sup> Christ unites with each human being through the reception of his holy body in the Eucharist. We become one with him and also become the temple of God who transforms us. This divine body also contains the soul.<sup>38</sup>

Saint Gregory Palamas supports the thesis that the reality and goodness of the human body is based in the holy Scriptures. The body is not separated from the soul but is helpful to the soul in a real way. Together they work to attain salvation. Though the classical Greek philosophers and their successors, including Barlaam, claimed immortality of the soul apart from the body, it was considered to be an erroneous doctrine. The Orthodox Christian view is that the soul separate from the body and vice versa is not the total man. For that reason the Orthodox Christian faith opted for a resurrection of the body and the immortality of the total man as is evidenced in the biblical revelation of the Old and New Testaments. Palamas' view of man, body and soul, is like a pilgrim going through life walking on a road of this world guided by the divine light. There is no separation of the material from the

<sup>34</sup>Ibid. Homily 53, p. 159.

<sup>35</sup>*Triads*, 2, 2.12.

<sup>36</sup>Homily 16, PG 151.202. Palamas considers man higher than the angels because man is created in the image and likeness. Homily 16, PG 150.1168 A-B.

<sup>37</sup>Homily 56. Oikonomou, p. 207. See also George Mantzarides, *The Deification of Man*, trans. Liadain Sherrard (Crestwood, 1984), pp. 52 ff.

<sup>38</sup>*Triads* 1, 3.38.



immaterial world, and the light shines in the path of the believer in this world until one reaches the creator God in whom one participates and is united with.<sup>39</sup>

In conclusion we may emphatically state that the Christian Orthodox understanding of the human body as articulated by Saint Gregory Palamas is scriptural and patristic. For Orthodoxy the ultimate end of man is *theosis*, participation of body and soul in the divine uncreated grace.<sup>40</sup> The glorification of the bodies of the saints is the goal for all human beings.<sup>41</sup>

In the proper Christian understanding of the material world and especially the human body, we become responsible as stewards and caretakers of our environment and our world, and must work for the well-being of all human beings. All the ascetic efforts of Orthodox monasticism and the Christian life are not in vain but are to help increase the health of the body and soul (both physical and spiritual) and for man to become the temple of the Holy Spirit. Man must understand the material world and himself as God's creation and behave according to the divine commandments. We must realize that only in the presence of the Holy Spirit are we truly alive. Man as body and soul will ultimately rise as Christ did, to live in the eternal presence of God. In the present situation and existence, Christ made all things new. As committed Christians we cling to the Logos, the Christ, and nothing shall separate us from him: "neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come . . . shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus."<sup>42</sup> This is the faith of the Church that is presented to all as a challenge and guide to live by in a confused and morally corrupt world. Orthodoxy calls all human beings to make a total commitment, both body and soul, to the Lord of life, the Logos and Creator of the universe.

<sup>39</sup>PG 150.1080D-81C.

<sup>40</sup>Triads 1, 3.37, Chrestou, *Συγγράματα*, 1, p. 448. The Gospel of Matthew explicitly states the purpose of man as follows: "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt 5.48).

<sup>41</sup>Triads 3. 1.10. Chrestou, *Συγγράματα*, 1, p. 624.

<sup>42</sup>Rom 8.38-39.

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## The Indissolubility of Marriage in the New Testament: Principle and Practice

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THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS

A FAIRLY WIDE CONSENSUS OF NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARS HOLDS that one of the clearest teachings of Christ is the unqualified prohibition of divorce. Whatever the exegetical complexities and ambiguities in detail, the key texts of Mk 10.2-12/Mt 19.3-12, Mt 5.31-32/Lk 16.8 and 1 Cor 7.10 strongly indicate that Jesus, against the background of the Jewish tradition, radically called for the permanency and indissolubility of marriage. The essential problem therefore lies not in the exegesis as such of these texts, but rather in the larger hermeneutical issue of the theological evaluation and practical application of Jesus' teaching on marriage and divorce in view of a) Jesus' eschatological ethic and b) the ecclesial process of distinctly cautious accommodation of Jesus' teaching to human realities which begins within the New Testament itself. What in the Gospel texts is of Jesus and what is of the Church is of course a delicate question. For example, the "exceptive clause" of Mt 5.32 ("except on the ground of unchastity"; cf. Mt 19.9) is generally viewed as a modification of Jesus' teaching by the Matthean community. It may here simply be noted that most New Testament scholars, and especially those who take the ecclesial dimension seriously, would not, on both literary and theological grounds, separate but rather integrate Christ's teaching and the reception and application of it in the life of the Church. My purpose in this

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brief paper is to outline the basic issues of our topic in the light of the concerns about marriage and divorce raised in the thought and practice of the Orthodox Church.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Principle*

The texts of Mk 10.2-12/Mt 19.3-12 express Jesus' position most clearly. Granted that Jesus' teaching comes to us through the interpretative perspective of the two evangelists and their communities, nevertheless, in view of the uniqueness of the teaching on divorce over against both the Jewish and pagan traditions, and especially in view of Saint Paul's independent witness to the Lord's same radical teaching (1 Cor 7.10), we can be reasonably certain that Christ uncompromisingly advocated a prophetic position on marriage and divorce similar to that of Malachi ["I hate putting away (divorcing), saith the Lord, the God of Israel," see Mal 2.14-16].<sup>2</sup> Jesus not only refuses to get entangled in the famous debates between the schools of Shammai and Hillel over the interpretation of Dt 24.1-4 concerning divorce, but also casts aside the authority of the Law itself. Moses' granting of divorce was, according to Christ, a mere concession to human sinfulness (Mk 10.5/Mt 19.8) and was not to be misconstrued as divine approval of divorce.<sup>3</sup>

Christ anchors his own teaching on the order of creation. That man and woman were made for one another to be "one flesh" (i.e., oneness of being, Gen 1.27; 2.24) signifies that the original and ultimate will of God is for an unbreakable, life-long union between man and woman. Christ authoritatively interprets the Old Testament texts with the weighty words, "What therefore God has joined together, let no one put asunder" (Mk 10.9/Mt 19.6), and

<sup>1</sup> For the historical and canonical position of the Orthodox Church on marriage and divorce, I depend on the following Orthodox canonists: Lewis J. Patsavos, "The Orthodox Position on Divorce," *Diakonia*, 5 (1970) 4-15; Peter L'Huillier, "The Indissolubility of Marriage in Orthodox Law and Practice," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 32 (1988) 199-221; and John Erickson, "Eastern Orthodox Perspectives on Divorce and Remarriage," an unpublished paper which he kindly made available to me.

<sup>2</sup> A recent interpretation of this passage is by Beth Glazier-McDonald, "Inter-marriage, Divorce, and the *Bat-'el Nekar*: Insights into Mal 2.10-16," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 106 (1987) 603-11.

<sup>3</sup> Walter W. Wessel, *Mark: The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, Vol. 8, ed. Frank E. Gaebelin (Grand Rapids, 1984), p. 711.

adds, "Whoever divorces his wife . . . and marries another, commits adultery" (Mt 9.19). The latter logion appears in the Matthean version which assumes that in the Jewish tradition only the man, not the woman, could initiate divorce, whereas the Markan version of the same logion also includes complementary words indicating the option of the initiation of divorce by the wife which may well reflect Mark's awareness of Roman law.

Thus the conclusion is that Jesus, as the late George MacRae has put it, "unequivocally and unconditionally rules out divorce."<sup>4</sup> In the words of John Murray: "Divorce [in Christ's view] is contrary to the divine institution, and contrary to the nature of marriage [according to the order of creation], and contrary to the divine action by which the union [of man and woman] is effected. . . . Divorce is the breaking of a seal which has been engraven by the hand of God."<sup>5</sup> The ancient interpreters, too, despite their general acceptance of the Matthean exceptive clause as coming directly from Jesus, clearly understood the authoritative force of Christ's strict principle of the indissolubility of marriage. For example, Saint John Chrysostom, as a representative of the patristic exegetical heritage, commenting on Mt 19.3-12 writes: "Both by the manner of creation, and by the manner of lawgiving [Christ] showed that one man must dwell with one woman continually, and never break off from her."<sup>6</sup>

But how are we to understand the nature of Christ's lofty principle which elicits shock and perhaps cynicism as exemplified from the outset by the reaction of Jesus' own disciples ("If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is not expedient to marry," Mt 19.10)? The text of Mt 5.31-32, which also casts aside Dt 24.1-4 and equates divorce and remarriage to adultery, and which is set in the context of the radical ethical standards of the Sermon on the Mount, helps us to begin to grapple with this question. The parallel text of Lk 16.18, too, although found in a different setting, carries a distinct radical ring. In the Lukan context Christ's logion equating divorce and remarriage to adultery (Lk 16.18) seems to be linked with another logion on the inviolability of God's law ("But it is

<sup>4</sup> George W. MacRae, S.J., *Studies in the New Testament and Gnosticism*, ed. Daniel Harrington (Wilmington, 1987), p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> John Murray, *Divorce* (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 33, quoted by Wessel, pp. 711-12.

<sup>6</sup> Gospel of Matthew, Homily 62.1.

easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one dot of the law to become void," Lk 16.17). The inference here may well be that the allowance of divorce according to the interpretations of the Pharisees (see Lk 16.14ff) is one example of pharisaic compromise and circumvention of the strict, divine principle of the indissolubility of marriage.

The radicality of Christ's teaching on the indissolubility of marriage is related to Christ's eschatological proclamation of the dawn of God's kingdom and its vigorous ethical demands. As the new ethic of the kingdom, the Sermon on the Mount sums up the higher righteousness of the kingdom as taught by Christ. "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 5.20). A crucial criterion is that Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil the law (Mt 5.17). What is the nature of this fulfillment? In the case of ethics, it is not a laxity of grace but an "eschatological sharpening" (K. Stendahl) of God's ethical demand as expressed in the six "antitheses" of Mt 5.21-47: 1) no murder/not even anger; 2) no adultery/not even a lustful gaze; 3) divorce/no divorce; 4) no false oaths/no oaths at all; 5) retaliation/non-retaliation; 6) love your neighbor and hate your enemy/love your enemy (Mt 5.21-47). These teachings, along with Mt 6.1-18 on the three pillars of Jewish piety (almsgiving, prayer, and fasting), seem to be the heart of the "higher righteousness" of the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus' key command to his followers is: "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Mt 5.48).

My intent is not to attempt here to crack the riddle of the Sermon on the Mount nor to circumvent its radicality either by advocating a kind of "interim ethic" (A. Schweitzer) or by interpreting its supreme ideals as applicable only to inner disposition and not actual conduct. Rather my intent is first to point out that the mystery of the eschatological kingdom revealed in Christ both as a present and a future reality involves an unavoidable tension between the newness of the kingdom and the conditions of the old age which continues until the fulness of the kingdom arrives. Those who in faith receive the blessings of the kingdom are also called to live by its radical demands. Yet again not even the most devoted follower of Christ can claim to have fulfilled the total ethic of the Sermon on the Mount. The higher principle of the kingdom can therefore be neither law, which condemns even sincere believers

unable to live by its demands, nor cheap grace which trivializes Christ's teaching. The right alternative, as MacCrae has pointed out, can only be " 'Gospel,' the genuine and specifically Christian challenge that can only be met by the fusion of free will and grace,"<sup>7</sup> what the Orthodox East has called *synergia*. The specific challenge is to accept the full force of Christ's radical teachings and to seek to interpret and apply them with discernment and compassion in the given circumstances and conditions which confront us, while patiently enduring the ambiguities and tensions which inevitably arise.

My second intent is to point out that the Church from its earliest days has practiced conscious or unconscious selectivity in the interpretation and application of Christ's radical principles. For example, the six "antitheses" of the Sermon on the Mount have probably never been taken on the same level. With regard to the first antithesis, one could hardly accept that "You fool" to someone is worthy of eternal damnation or that mere anger can be compared to murder. With regard to the second antithesis, one would not equate a lustful look to actual adultery, as if a lustful gaze might be ground for divorce according to the Matthean exceptive clause, any more than one would consider cutting off a member of one's body that caused scandal. With regard to the fifth antithesis, few would take literally the call to practice non-resistance to evildoers. And with regard to the fourth antithesis, the Church has formally contradicted the dominical prohibition by practicing oath taking, as in the case of the installation of parish councils in the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>8</sup> Why then uphold with profound seriousness and strictness the radical principle of the indissolubility of marriage as demanded by the third antithesis? Not because of any explicit hermeneutical or theological reasons solving the riddle of the Sermon on the Mount, but quite probably because by experience the importance of marriage has led the Church to view the third antithesis far more seriously and literally than the others. Yet, despite the authority of the dominical principle regarding marriage as received by the Church, a process of cautious accommodation of this radical principle to human realities can be discerned within the New Testament itself.

<sup>7</sup> MacRae, p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 128, n. 18.

*The Practice*

The first qualification to the seemingly absolute principle of the indissolubility of marriage is an unquestioned assumption deriving from the Jewish tradition, namely, that death dissolves the bond of marriage and the living spouse is free to remarry. The above texts on marriage and divorce have in view living spouses. Even Jesus seems not to question that a widow may marry sequentially many times after the death of each husband, and he indicates that the institution of marriage is virtually meaningless in the life of the resurrection when people "neither marry nor are given in marriage but are like angels in heaven" (Mk 12.25). The same assumption is shared by Saint Paul (Rm 7.2-3; 1 Cor 7.8-9). To be sure, Saint Paul shows an eschatological preference not to marry, which is applicable to widows as well as singles, and remarriage in his eyes is a matter of an approved concession ("if they cannot exercise self-control, they should marry," 1 Cor 7.9). During the next generation, however, as the deuterio-Pauline First Epistle to Timothy testifies, human realities seem to have dictated the development of a positive exhortation to young widows to marry, as a matter of pastoral principle in order to avoid known evils (1 Tim 5.11-16). Young widows cannot be counted on to keep their pledge of devotion to Christ, but desire to marry and so incur condemnation by breaking their first pledge; and besides that, they become idlers, gossipers, and busybodies. The pastoral conclusion is that "younger widows [should] marry, bear children, rule their households, and give the enemy no occasion to revile us" (1 Tim 5.14).

The qualification that death dissolves marriage and that consequently the widowed spouse is free to marry does not mean that such second marriages were held in equal honor. Among the first strictures for the enrollment of old widows in the official list of the Church is that they must have been "the wife of one husband" (1 Tim 5.9). So, similarly, pertaining to the office of the bishop, among the first requirements for married men is that the candidate must have been "the husband of one wife" (1 Tim 3.2). In the later tradition, despite the ongoing reality of remarriage of the widowed, this spiritual reservation or even bias increases rather than diminishes. The second-century apologist Athenagoras, known for his platonist reservations toward sex and marriage, writes: "He who rids himself of his first wife, even if she be dead, is an adulterer



in disguise because he transgresses the hand of God, for in the beginning God created but one man and one woman.”<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Clark reports that, despite the freedom of divorce in pagan antiquity, “the traditional ideal of the monogamous woman was enshrined in [pagan] literature as well as life.”<sup>10</sup> Against the background of this ideal, as well as the Christian ascetic ideal of the angelic (monastic) life, perhaps it is not surprising to find that Saint John Chrysostom could write his work *Against Remarriage* and specifically have in view the remarriage of widows! Although Chrysostom freely concedes that the second marriage of widows is according to law and firmly guards against heretical ideas of prohibiting marriage, nevertheless he builds up a sustained pastoral argument against the remarriage of widows and widowers, giving as reasons, among many others, that such remarriages mark faithlessness toward dead spouses and are a desecration of their memory.<sup>11</sup> Yet, in order not to misconstrue the relationship of ideal to practice, it should not be forgotten that by the time of Chrysostom, the Church in the East was very reluctantly accepting remarriages not only of the widowed but also of persons whose former partners were still living.

A second qualification to Christ’s principle of the indissolubility of marriage is found in 1 Cor 7.10-16, where Saint Paul testifies to Christ’s seemingly absolute principle and yet, in the same breath, slightly modifies it! Exhorts Saint Paul:

To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does, let her remain single or else be reconciled to her husband) and that the husband should not divorce his wife (1 Cor 7.10).

While affirming the authority of the dominical principle, Saint Paul qualifies it in that he reluctantly accepts separation but not formal divorce (and certainly not remarriage with another person while the former spouse is still living). What makes him accept the separation? There appears to be no other reason than the reality that it happened: “But if she does, let her remain single” (1 Cor 7.11).

<sup>9</sup> *Supplication* 33, quoted by Erickson, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> In her introduction to Sally Dieger Shore’s book, *John Chrysostom on Virginity and Against Remarriage* (Lewiston, NY, 1983), p. xxv.

<sup>11</sup> See S. D. Shore, pp. xxv, 54 and 141.

Thus Saint Paul assumes and reluctantly accepts that, despite the dominical principle, married Christians did at least on occasion separate, obviously compromising the oneness of marriage, without losing their standing in the Church.<sup>12</sup>

Saint Paul immediately introduces another more serious qualification in the exhortation "to the rest," that is to say, Christians who were married to pagans, about whom he has no instruction of the Lord (1 Cor 7.12-16). In the first place, he upholds the principle of indissolubility if the pagan partner consents to maintaining the marriage, an undefiling marriage for Saint Paul, the pagan partner somehow sharing in the holiness of the believing partner (1 Cor 7.12-14). This means that the Christian partner, accountable to Christ's principle, is not to initiate divorce. However, if the pagan partner initiates it, the Christian partner is not bound and is to "let it be so" (1 Cor 7.15) — the so-called "Pauline privilege." Here again Saint Paul's words likely reflect situations which actually occurred. He feels that by his own apostolic authority he can adapt Christ's principle to a new situation that Christians now face. A difference is that while his first qualification is undesirable and reluctant, the second seems to be positively counseled and approved — "Let it be so; in such a case the brother or sister is not bound" (1 Cor 7.15). Where does Paul ground his authority for such adaptations? "I think that I have the Spirit of God" (1 Cor 7.40).<sup>13</sup> Would Paul allow the Christian partner subsequently to remarry, "only in the Lord" (1 Cor 7.39), while the former pagan partner was still living? Paul gives no hint about his position and interpreters differ on this question. My own view is that given that Christ's principle of indissolubility is grounded in the order of creation, if Paul assumed the same reasoning, he would not allow such a remarriage.

A final qualification to Christ's principle of the indissolubility of marriage is the "exceptive clause" of Mt 5.32 ("except on the ground of unchastity;" cf. 19.9) which assumes that the Matthean community adhered to this exception. Although a number of scholars still hold that this saying goes back to Jesus himself and is simply omitted by Mark and Luke as obvious, most scholars

<sup>12</sup>Compare his uncompromising attitude toward the man living with his step-mother (1 Cor 5.1ff.).

<sup>13</sup>A point made by MacRae, p. 124.

regard it as secondary. In the spirit of the radical principles summed up in the Sermon on the Mount, Christ is not concerned with making exceptions. If this exception was original to the principle of indissolubility of marriage, which would make it a striking proviso to a radical dominical teaching, it is difficult to understand why not only Mark and Luke, but also Paul would omit it, especially since they mostly address gentile Christians, some of whom may have been guilty of unchastity prior to their conversion. Orthodox scholars have not discussed the origins of the Matthean exceptive clause to any extent. It may be noted that the Orthodox Bishop Peter L'Hullier, a respected canonist, attributes the exceptive clause to the evangelist<sup>14</sup> and this, too, is my own assumption.

What is the meaning of the clause of exception? The Greek term behind the word "unchastity" is *porneia* which can refer to many things: adultery, fornication, marital unfaithfulness, public immodesty, or any sexual misconduct. Some have argued that in the Matthean context, *porneia* refers to prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity according to Jewish law which would make such marriages incestuous unions (cf. 1 Cor 5.1ff.). The latter option would presumably lessen or even neutralize the force of the exception since such relationships would not be considered marriages at all. But then the Matthean context assumes the reality of marriage in which divorce is permitted (required?) on the ground of an exception. My own judgment is that the more obvious meaning holds and that the term *porneia* is used not in the strict sense of adultery (*moicheia*) but in the general sense of any sexual misconduct. In the context of a Jewish-Christian community, the evangelist qualifies and adapts the principle of the indissolubility of marriage because "unchastity" defiles and breaks the marital bond. In the same Jewish-Christian context the possibility of the allowance of remarriage for the innocent spouse is greater since marriage may well have been regarded as a duty. Similar to the case of Saint Paul, the evangelist exercises a certain freedom in adapting a dominical teaching in a community which has the power of "binding and loosing" (Mt 18.19) over matters of church discipline. In both Matthew and Paul we see a process of interpreting and adapting Christ's rigorous principle without abandoning it.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>L'Hullier, pp. 201-02.

<sup>15</sup>On these points I find myself in agreement with MacRae, pp. 125-26.

*The Orthodox Tradition*

In subsequent centuries the Church of the East came to permit several divorces. Saint Gregory the Theologian writes: "A first marriage is in full conformity with the law; a second marriage is tolerated by indulgence; a third marriage is harmful. A fourth marriage makes one resemble a pig."<sup>16</sup> Remarriages of persons whose former spouses were still living, although allowed by bishops with great reluctance, are known by the time of Origen (ca. 250 AD), and Saint Basil a century later reports of a custom of allowing the remarriage of husbands abandoned by their wives.<sup>17</sup> In due course the Church under the Byzantine "symphony" permitted divorce for multiple "valid reasons." In the words of John Erickson:

[These reasons] enumerated by the civil law were reduced to two types: those which could be assimilated to death (disappearance with presumption of death, permanent insanity, monastic habit, episcopal consecration) and those which could be assimilated to adultery, which thus could be interpreted in the light of the Matthean exceptive clause (endangering the life of the spouse, secret abortion, forcing the spouse to prostitution).<sup>18</sup>

Orthodox canonists invoke the concept of "economy" in explaining the Church's practice of allowing multiple divorces and remarriages for grave reasons. "Economy" is viewed as "transitory leniency" by which the Church is a dispenser of divine mercy preventing worse consequences. "Economy" pertains to exception rather than the rule and thus does not contradict Christ's principle of the indissolubility of marriage.<sup>19</sup> Divorce and remarriage entail penance and other strictures such as prohibiting the "crowning," a practice which is not strictly adhered to in recent times. Moreover, as Saint Cyril of Alexandria has written, "It is not a writ of divorce that dissolves marriage before God, but bad actions."<sup>20</sup> The pronouncement of ecclesiastical divorce does not so

<sup>16</sup>Quoted by Paul Evdokimov, *The Sacrament of Love* (Crestwood, NY, 1985), pp. 185-86.

<sup>17</sup>L'Hullier, pp. 203-04.

<sup>18</sup>Erickson, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup>On "economy" see Patsavos, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup>Quoted by L'Hullier, p. 206.

much dissolve marriage but rather acknowledges and certifies its dissolution which is already a fact.

Does the Orthodox Church need to review its thought and practice of marriage and divorce today? For a number of reasons the Orthodox Church urgently needs to do so. The Byzantine "symphony" no longer exists. Orthodox Christians very often receive a civil divorce and then come to the Church when they are preparing for remarriage. Divorce is then sometimes granted as a matter of formal records. In other cases a number of Orthodox clergy do not "count" previous marriages not blessed in the Orthodox Church, a practice which seems to undermine Christ's principle of the indissolubility of marriage based on the order of creation. According to John Erickson, "in our post-Christian era . . . our own ecclesiastical forms may be among the obstacles which hinder a deeper understanding of Christian marriage."<sup>21</sup> In the light of these developments the testimony of the New Testament can sharpen and invigorate the Orthodox Church's thought and practice regarding marriage and divorce today.

<sup>21</sup>Erickson, p. 8.

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## The Interface of Medicine and Religion in the Greek and the Christian Greek Orthodox Tradition\*

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DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

THE TERM "INTERFACE" IS SUBJECT TO SEVERAL DEFINITIONS including the one which defines it as "the facts, problems, considerations, theories and practices shared by two or more disciplines, or fields of study." Medicine and religion have much in common. Throughout history their alliance has been intimate and their concerns often overlap. The well-being of the human person has been the central objective of both.

In this essay I will focus more on historical precedents concerning the relationship between medicine and religion than on ways and means for their cooperation in the future. The examples of historical precedents will be drawn from the ancient Greek and the Christian Greek Orthodox experience. There are some striking similarities between the two Greek worlds which not only illustrate a persistent continuity but also similar responses of the human in times of crisis.

Medicine was described by the ancient Greeks as the *phil-anthropotatē ton epistemon* — the most philanthropic of the sciences, and religion (*threskeia*) was perceived as the instinctive quest of the human being for the divine. As little birds instinctively open their mouths for food, human beings instinctively turn toward their gods, to paraphrase Homer.

\*This is a slightly revised text of the keynote address delivered at the Second Annual National Conference of the Orthodox Christian Association of Medicine, Psychology, and Religion, Chicago, IL., August 28-30, 1987.

Religion and medicine were accepted as gifts of divine origin.

It is well known, of course, that medicine and religion have been catalysts in the history of humanity in general, from remote antiquity to recent years. In ancient Greece, religion was constantly searching and evolving, from anthropomorphic polytheism to philosophical monotheism to ethical Christian monotheism. Medicine was linked with religion and it was under the patronage of the god Asklepios. "For even this branch of learning had to be under the tutelage of something divine," writes the first-century Kornutos of Leptis. But Asklepios was a *theios aner*, a god-man, who could converse with the language of both divinity and humanity; who could empathize with the human situation, and heal and save. For this reason, in the early Christian centuries Asklepios was the chief antagonist of Christ. In Asklepios, physicians had a prototype of love and concern for the human being. Whether directly or indirectly, Asklepios' intervention in human affairs abounds in ancient Greek and Latin literature.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout antiquity Greek society recognized the need of divine solicitude for humanity's infirmities. It was the individual in need of healing who would take the initiative and turn to Asklepios and subsequently to his physician-priests, the *Asklepiadai*, to perform the cure.

The cult of Asklepios became very popular in the Greco-Roman world of late antiquity, before and after the Christian era. Its purpose was to work a renewal in the human being and rebirth in health. Some modern medical terms such as *clinic*, *hygiene*, *panacea*, and *iasis* have their roots in the theories and practices of the Asklepios cult. The first principle of the Asklepios method was to put a patient on a *kline* (bed) in the Asklepios temple. Our term *clinic* derives from *kataklinein*, laying the patient down on a bed. During the

<sup>1</sup>See Emma J. Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein, *Asclepius*, 2 vols (Baltimore, 1945. Reprinted New York, 1975), 1, p. 180. Volume one contains a collection of texts and references to Asklepios' life and deeds, his cult, images and temples. Volume two presents an analysis of the material assembled.



night Asklepios would appear to the patient as a tall, bearded man with a white *chiton* (a cloak much like a modern physician's) and a serpent staff (the modern physician's emblem). He was often accompanied by his consort *Hygieia* (health — whence our term hygiene) and his daughters *Panakeia* thus our Panacea — medicine for all diseases) and *Iaso* (whence our iasis — process or condition of healing).

Literary, epigraphic, and archeological evidence reveal that there were numerous case histories of healed persons from major sanctuaries such as Epidauros, Kos, Messene, Pergamum, Mytilene, Athens, Aegina, the Tiber Island at Rome, and other Asklepieia.<sup>2</sup> In every case the cure was considered as a mystery, and the rites and methods leading to the cure remind us of rituals and practices in the Christian tradition. The practice of incubation in Asklepios' temple, the pronouncement of Asklepios' sacred words (*hieroi logoi*), the belief that both *soma kai psyche* (body and soul) are restored to harmony have been assimilated into Christianity.

Every case was different and the personal relationship between the divinity and the patient was emphasized. Every cure presupposed the presence of certain central principles — both spiritual and pragmatic: the ritual of incubation, which may be described as a total surrender to god's providence and will; faith in the possibility of cure, but also dietetic and therapeutic methods such as baths and exercises. It was the responsibility of the patient to take the initiative and visit his physician. Whether one was ill from arthritis, epiphysis, rheuma, crisis, asthma, tetanos, anthrax, opisthotonos, mesocolon, dysentery, pleuritis, hypochondria, a wound or any other of several more illnesses mentioned in the Hippocratic books one would turn first to a physician — the representative of physis — the physical. And the physical — without instruction or knowledge, does what is necessary.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. pp. 36-59. See also Guido Majno, *The Healing Hand* (Cambridge, MA., 1975), pp. 201-05, and W. K., Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (Boston, 1955) pp. 242-53; cf. E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 110-19.

Nature is the physician of diseases. But when the physical failed, and no physician was able to heal, the patient lost no hope. One would then turn to the metaphysical, beyond the physical, to God. Asklepios, the patron god of physicians, would heal either directly or through a physician. The patient would pray to Asklepios, and the physician would lend a hand. "Prayer indeed is good but while calling on the gods one must oneself lend a hand" as we read in a Hippocratic book.<sup>3</sup> The direct healing was performed in the Asklepieion, the temple of Asklepios. The patient was taken to the temple where he was required to lie down in the sacred hall called the *abaton*, the "innermost chamber" or *sanctum sanctorum* and wait for the god to appear and either heal directly or give advice in a dream. It was a halfway encounter of the patient with God and an encounter with healing itself. Here are a few cases copied from a large marble stele found in the celebrated Asklepieion in Epidauros:

Gorgias of Herakleia had been wounded by an arrow in the lung during a battle, and for a year and a half he had suppurated so badly that he filled sixty-seven basins with pus. While sleeping in the temple he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the God extracted the arrowhead from his lung. When day came he walked out well holding the arrowhead in his hands.

When Asklepios used a drug, it was a dream drug. Here is an illustration:

Timon was wounded by a spear under his eye. While sleeping in the temple he saw a dream. It seemed to him that the God rubbed down an herb and poured it into his eye and he became well.

Asklepios even practiced dream surgery. The following is one more appropriate illustration concerning the eyes of Antikrates of Cnidos.

<sup>3</sup>Hippocrates, "Περὶ Διαίτης," ed. W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 1967), pp. 4:298.

In a battle [Antikrates] had been hit by a spear in both eyes and had become blind with the spearpoint he carried with him sticking in his face. While sleeping he saw a vision. It seemed to him that the God pulled out the middle and then fitted into his eyelids again the so-called pupils. When day came he walked out sound.<sup>4</sup>

Because of his healing and philanthropic concerns, Asklepios was called *Soter* and *Philanthropos*, epithets widely used in Christian and Orthodox hymnography for Christ. The Asklepieia became the precedents of the Christian hospitals.

It is an acknowledged fact that Christianity did not seek to destroy the past but, instead, to consecrate it. In its process of dissemination, Christianity adopted and absorbed much of the culture of the pagan past. Christianity did not destroy the pagan past. In the Christian Orthodox tradition there has been no antagonism between medicine as a pagan inheritance and religious faith, science and belief, reason and creed, faith and culture. Indeed, the striking persistence of ancient Greek thought, pagan images, and practices into the sixth century and even later serves as a reminder that Christian theology and art by no means obliterated the Greco-Roman heritage.

In the history of Christian Hellenism we discern attitudes similar with those that existed in pagan Hellenism. In both chronological periods medicine was viewed as a god-given gift for the benefit of humankind. Throughout the Byzantine era in which Orthodox Christianity formulated many of its present doctrines, ethical teachings and forms of worship, medicine and religion became catalysts in the daily life and civilization of the people.

Orthodox Christianity assumed a positive stand toward medicine precisely because it had adopted the Greek mind which remained one of its permanent categories. The teachings of both Hippocrates and Galenos about medicine and

<sup>4</sup>Majno, *The Healing Hand*, pp. 201-03.

religion did not contradict any basic doctrines of Christian Orthodoxy. Hippocrates' recognition that an individual's constitution determines the nature of certain diseases and his emphasis on the sacredness and the healing powers of nature made him a source of reference throughout the Byzantine era. "Holy will I keep my life and my art" reads the Hippocratic oath.<sup>5</sup> Hippocrates harmonized rational Greek inquiry and religious faith.

Galenos excelled in diagnosis and prognosis, and in physiology and anatomy, all of which he advanced through experimentation. But it was his reverence for the human person, his ardent belief in the divinity ("everything manifests god's glory," he writes), and his religious attitude toward the ailing person that contributed to the cultivation of a positive alliance between medical science and religious faith. Orthodox Christianity, unlike its Western counterpart, did not have to rediscover the value of scientific medicine because it had never left its native land and it preserved the high conception of the art of healing of the ancient masters.<sup>6</sup>

History confirms that many rites and liturgical terms of the Christian Church were adopted from the religious beliefs, practices, and ceremonies of the people who, in adopting Christianity, changed little of their faith and culture. The terms *Soter* (Savior), *Philanthropos* (lover of the human being), *poliouchos* (protector of the city), *patroos* (fatherly), *mysterion* (mystery), *hiereos* (priest), *thysia* (sacrifice), *analepsis* (ascension), *panegyris* (festival), *hierokeryx* (preacher), *ekklesia* (church), *naos* (temple), *myesis* (initiation), *pannychis* (night service), *thymiamata* (incense), *koimeterion* (cemetery),<sup>7</sup> and many more religious terms in current use in the Greek and

<sup>5</sup>Hippocrates, "'Οπρος," ed. W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates*, 1, p. 298.

<sup>6</sup>D. J. Constantelos, "Medicine, Byzantine" in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Joseph R. Strayer, Editor in chief (New York, 1987), 8, pp. 244-46.

<sup>7</sup>For these terms in the Asklepios' cult, see Alice Walton, *Asklepios. The Cult of the Greek God of Medicine* (Ithaca, 1894. Reprinted Chicago, 1974), esp. pp. 47-56.

Eastern Orthodox Churches reveal the unbroken continuity between pagan and Christian culture, between non-Christian and Christian Hellenism.

The practices of incubation, or sleeping in the Church, or at the feet of icons, and votives of legs, arms, or other parts of the body dedicated to icons of "Christos" or the "Panagia Parthena" remind us of similar models hanging in temples of Asklepios. Whether in Greek and Roman antiquity, in the Christian Middle Ages, or in modern times, people feel the need for a touch of the *paionios cheir* (divine hand) for the restoration to health.

There is nothing wrong with this heritage. Who shall say whether these customs are blasphemous and irrational, "pagan" or "Christian"? Christians, who have inherited a mass of customs directly derived from the thought and the ritual of the Greek healing god Asklepios need not apologize for this inheritance. In the last analysis these customs are neither pagan nor Christian. They are intensely human and universal, an utterance of the helplessness of persons in affliction and pain crying out for the aid of a power beyond themselves and other fellow human beings, whether physicians or priests, for hope, certainty and health realized.<sup>8</sup>

Purity of body, faith, prayer, and especially love of the human being were prerequisites for effective healing. Hippocrates writes: "Where there is love of the human being, there is also love of the medical art." The term *philanthropia*, in the sense of love for the human being, *philein ton anthropon*, was widely used in Byzantine writings, including theological and medical literature. And religion and medicine were both concerned with the health of the whole human being. Church and medicine received the human being as a psychosomatic entity.

Notwithstanding the scepticism of some conservative monks who questioned the efficiency of medicine and emphasized the effectiveness of "holy men" rather than physicians in

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. pp. 76-77.

the cure of illnesses, the Orthodox Church has never doubted the usefulness of medicine. It has been rightly observed by specialists that in no other scientific field is the Byzantine contribution greater than in medicine. It is no wonder that several major church Fathers from the fourth down to recent centuries not only studied medicine but also made important contributions to health and health services. Among these are: Basil the Great, the founder of the first major hospital of the Middle Ages; Eusebios of Caesarea; Nemesios of Emesa; John Eleemon, Pausikakos of Apameia, Photios and others described epidemics such as smallpox and diphtheria and made important contributions to clinical medicine and physiology, including a description of the nervous system. Many churchmen trained in theology and medicine used their medical knowledge in establishing hospitals, *leprosaria*, and other philanthropic institutions. Indeed the emergence of the clinic and the hospital proper was the result of the Greek Church's positive attitude toward medicine.

There was no monolithic attitude toward the cause of disease. Some church Fathers and Christian lay physicians viewed illness as a punishment sent by the divinity, while others saw it having natural causes, such as food, occupation, climate, and environmental factors. While some physicians, clergymen, laypersons, and patients made a rational analysis of a disease and sought a logical and natural therapeutic approach, others confused the logical with superstition, the rational with the irrational. Diet, baths, exercises, and drugs were all prescribed along with an emphasis on religious faith, incubation of the patient in the church, the service of the *Euchelaion* (Holy Unction), and other religious formulas. The hospital and the Church cooperated closely in the task of restoring the ill to a healthy society. Hospitals were built next to churches and there were no hospitals without chapels for services and prayer.<sup>9</sup>

The close relationship between religion and medicine in

<sup>9</sup>Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ., 1968), pp. 152-84, esp. 175-77.

the Orthodox tradition is further attested by the existence of many physicians-priests as in Greek antiquity. Throughout the Byzantine era, many monks, priests, bishops, and even patriarchs, received a medical education and practiced the profession. And I do not mean popular healing saints such as Therapon, Panteleimon, Kosmas, Damianos, Kyros, Sampson, and Diomedes, whose names are cited even to the present day in the services of the Orthodox Church. There were numerous physicians who were also ordained clergymen and were highly respected. They were expected to be experts and practice the act of healing on "bodies and souls." In addition to Pausikakos mentioned earlier, the Patriarchs Politanos, Eutychios, Kyrillos II, Nicholas II, and Meletios Pegas, all of Alexandria, and Anastasios from Tralleis, Andronikos the deacon, and Gerontios of Nikomedia are but a few of the many physicians ordained priests, serving the needs of bodies and souls.<sup>10</sup>

The same practice survived until recent years. Again I will illustrate this with examples from the Greek experience which I know better than other traditions. We know the names of several prominent physicians who studied theology, were ordained priests, and played a leading role in the life of post-Byzantine Greece. In the eighteenth century, a physician named Parthenios Petrakes became a monk, subsequently received ordination, and founded a monastery which to the present day carries his name — Mone Petrake. The physician-priest Petrakes established his medical practices there for all Athenians who needed his services. After his death, the *iatrophilosophos* (physician-philosopher) Dionysios Pyrros was ordained a priest and in cooperation with the hegoumenos of the Petrake Monasteri, established there in 1812 the first scientific school of modern Greece. He taught medicine, pharmacology, hygiene, botany, and related sciences. It is interesting to note that in 1835 he was elected the first president of the Medical Society of modern

<sup>10</sup>Demetrios J. Constantelos, "Clerics and Secular Professions in the Byzantine Church," *Byzantina*, 13 (1985) 373-90, esp. 382-88.

Greece.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the history of Orthodox Christianity, as a rule medicine was used not as a safeguard against demonic powers, or to prevent evil influences, or to propitiate the divine (as in primitive or underdeveloped societies), but as an experiential science in the Aristotelian tradition. The Aristotelian philosophy of science, which, from as early as the thirteenth century, dominated medical science in Western European universities, especially the University of Padua, never deserted its native ground. Thanks to the Orthodox understanding of the cosmos, medicine had found a ready association with religion.

The thirteenth century of our era marked a turning point in the alliance between medicine and religion. Medical studies were pursued with far greater vigor and propensity for innovation than before. Physicians were respected and valued, and hospitals and medical services were perceived as the deepest possible expression of love and concern for the human being. Anti-medical sentiment was very limited and rather rhetorical. It had its source in isolated monastic circles and heretical movements. The mainstream of religious thought considered medicine as proof of God's philanthropia and the goodness of creation. Of course this attitude does not mean that there was no criticism of physicians. Patients complained then as they complain today that they paid exorbitant fees to physicians. We must note, however, that the high fees of physicians, their failure to cure medical problems, and the reputation of physicians for cupidity constitute a *topos* in hagiography and various descriptions of miracles.<sup>12</sup>

In any case it was under these circumstances that the faithful would turn from the physical — the physician — to the

<sup>11</sup>Chrysostomos Roumeliotes, “Ἡ προσφορά τοῦ Ὁρθοδόξου Μοναχισμοῦ,” *Ekklesia*, 64.1 (Athens, 1987) 404.

<sup>12</sup>Alice-Mary M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, MA., 1983), p. 132; Halina Evert-Kappesowa, “The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire,” *Byzance et les Slaves: Etudes de civilization* (Paris, 1979), p. 145.



metaphysical, to Christ who is described in the Liturgy as "the physician of bodies and souls," to divine intervention through liturgical services, sacramental acts, relics, and intercessions of holy persons. "Lives of Saints" abound in miraculous cures, whether legendary or real. The following illustrations are from the miracles attributed to Athanasios, a fourteenth-century saint and former Patriarch of Constantinople.

Meletios Poteras, of Medeia, fell victim to a terrible evil spirit, which did not simply possess him for several years, but filled his soul with terror and darkness and treated him despitely in every way . . . He used to collapse frequently and fall down and suffered all "the ills" of men possessed by spirits: spasms, convulsions, attacks of dizziness . . .

. . . Meletios, disregarding all human assistance, sought refuge in God and his servant and came to the sanctuary where the precious coffin of Athanasios lies; he fell before it in supplication and bathed it in warm tears. Then Meletios made use of the drug which wards off evil spirits and all suffering, being truly the oil of mercy; he blended it with prayers and tears and straightway was freed from his demonic possession (epilepsy?).

Note that it was after Meletios had despaired of medical assistance that he sought the intercession of the saint. He prayed first and then he used the drug. Human assistance, divine help, prayer, and medication constituted the process of Meletios' eventual healing.

The case of Ioannes Vlangenos, who suffered from a similar illness, reminds us of the incubation and dream therapies used in the *Asklepieia*. He sought refuge to the church where Athanasios' coffin was laid. While in deep sleep, the saint appeared to him, took hold of his head, and bade him to open his mouth. Then . . . he said, "Behold you have been freed from the evil spirit; now that you have found salvation through your faith, depart in peace . . . As soon as Vlangenos awoke, he was liberated from the evil spirit."

Once again, despaired of help, Ioannes Vlangenos sought assistance in the Church. It was the recovery of his faith that made him well, through the intervention of the saint.<sup>13</sup>

In the last centuries of the Byzantine era, in addition to the use of medicine, the intercession of holy persons, and special services, the Church officially adopted a sacrament of healing. Even though belief in the miraculous was always present in the experience of the Church, it was after the thirteenth century that the sacrament of holy Unction was officially adopted as the sacrament to be administered for the healing of illnesses of body and soul, with emphasis on the physical healing. Parenthetically, let me mention that at the Council of Lyons (1274), which sought to unite the Western and Eastern churches, the Greek delegation was asked to explain the doctrines of its Church. It responded by saying repeatedly that the sacrament of the *Euchelaion* was administered only to sick people for the restoration of their health. In fact the Greek Fathers criticized the Latin Church for administering the sacrament as a last rite.<sup>14</sup> Because of the interrelationship between body and soul, the sacrament was dispensed for the forgiveness of sins and for healing of soul and mind. "Great are the benefits of this rite upon both soul and body," advised Saint Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike (1410-1429).<sup>15</sup> In any case, it is well known that the Church, through its many special services and prayers, is deeply concerned with the psychosomatic well-being of its members. Indeed one of its many characteristics is that the Church's liturgical life has embraced the totality of the cosmos and humanity's total spiritual and physical needs. From the moment of birth to the moment of departure from this life; for a single personal object to a public project; for the installation

<sup>13</sup>Talbot, *Faith Healing*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>14</sup>A. Theiner and F. Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum Graecae et Romanae* (Vienna, 1872), pp. 27-28.

<sup>15</sup>Symeon of Thessalonike, "Περὶ τῆς τελετῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἐλαίου," ch. 3 in *Συμεὼν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Τὰ Ἄπαντα* (Thessalonike, no date. Reprinted from the 1882 ed.), p. 228.

of the village mayor to the inauguration of the president of the Republic — for every occasion and every need the Church is in attendance, encouraging, educating, and sanctifying.<sup>16</sup>

The alliance between medicine and religion is actively present in several Christian Orthodox societies today. Another illustration from Greece, which is one of the few more homogeneous societies where Orthodox Christianity is still the dominant religion is the Christian Union of Scientists and Professional Persons which includes many physicians committed to the principles of the Orthodox Christian faith. Their Institute of Psychology and Mental Health, under the leadership of Dr. A. Aspiotes, has published scores of books intended to help the faithful achieve physical and mental health.

The Orthodox Church sees the human person as a “*synergo theou*,” collaborator of God because of its affinity with God. The human being is primarily a soul, a mind, a spirit with a body, not a body with a spirit. Thus the emphasis is on the spirit, the mind, and the soul over the body. Faith as a factor in the healing process; belief that “everything is possible to those who believe;” and faith as a surrender of mind and body to the Creator’s providence are all teachings which are integrated into the belief system of the Orthodox.<sup>17</sup>

But Orthodoxy means more than faith alone. It also means a way of life, a culture, an all-embracing cosmic-view which sees a harmonious union between the physical and the metaphysical, body and soul. It is the organic character of the union of body and soul that makes the alliance of medicine and religious faith meaningful and indeed necessary. Orthodoxy is radically opposed to any dualistic interpretation of the human being, to any view which identifies the present life with evil and sees illness as the result of the demonic. The God of Orthodoxy is a *Philanthropos Theos*, the source of a beautiful

<sup>16</sup>The *Μέγα Εὐχολόγιον* includes not only the sacramental services but also many brief rites and prayers for practically every occasion of man’s life.

<sup>17</sup>Mt 8.13, 21.22; Mk 9.23; Lk 8.50. See also Leonidas J. Philippides, *Ἡ πίστις ὡς παράγων βεβαίας ἰάσεως* (Athens, 1947), esp. pp. 19-30.

and orderly cosmos — not a life-hating Devil.<sup>18</sup>

The relationship of the Orthodox world to modern trends in religious faith and health sciences is not meant to be a return to the past or an escape to ancient Greek Asklepieia or medieval Byzantine *nosokomeia* (hospitals), but a response to existential needs, even a reaction to a secularized and commercialized medicine. Health is no longer viewed as the absence of sickness, but the realization of human potential when the human realizes God's kingdom "in us" and his presence "inside" us. Indeed, "in God we live and move and have our being," as the ancient Greek poet Aratos put it and Saint Paul confirmed it (Acts 17.28). In the light of this, Orthodox Christian physicians should have no problem accepting the ministry of healing, either through the Sacrament of Holy Unction or other forms of liturgical prayers and services. In speaking of the ministry of healing, I do not mean "faith healing," television style, which denies the value of scientific medicine. The ministry of healing is not self-sufficient. It acknowledges its limitations, and cooperates with medicine.

But is not modern medicine dominated by the rationalists and agnostics? Is it not irrational and unscientific to believe in the ministry of healing? Before we reflect on these questions, let me raise an additional question: What is faith, and what is healing? "Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen" (Heb. 11.1). In the context of this definition, even rationalists and sceptics should admit that faith is indeed very much a major factor in the process of healing.

Every patient needs the reassurance of things hoped for, that is, healing, and the conviction of things not seen, but soon to be realized — such as the return of an injured or damaged part of the human body to its natural and normal

<sup>18</sup>For an excellent understanding of Christian Orthodox anthropology within the context of theology, see Elias Mastrogianopoulos, *Oi πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος* (Athens, 1966), esp. pp. 71-285 and Paul Evdokimov, *L' Orthodoxie* (Paris, 1959), part one; Greek translation by A. T. Mourtzopoulos, *Ἡ Ὁρθοδοξία* (Thessalonike, 1972), pp. 56-61.

state of being to the extent that it is possible. Faith as an attitude of the mind possesses tremendous powers. If properly utilized, the mind could undermine and even defeat illness, and enhance the health of the body, spirit, and emotions. We are told that physicians and other scientists who use new tools of brain physiology in order to check out the mind and its powers are no longer a small group of wishful thinkers.

It is widely accepted that negative emotions and attitudes are detrimental to health while controlled emotions and positive thinking contribute to the development of an immune system toward various physical and emotional illnesses. The links between brain and body, belief and immunity has long been recognized. Our ancestors relied more on prayer, intuition, and belief. We have added today experiential knowledge, science. The prayers of the Church invoke not only divine intervention but they also provide the ground for certainty, hope, and positive expectations; they strengthen the health system of the patient. In this light then, one may assert that the means of the Church for healing are not anachronistic but as timely as ever.

In recent years scientists have accumulated sufficient evidence indicating that thoughts, beliefs, and emotional states can affect one's immune system. To visualize health promoting images, such as God's touch healing the sick; to believe that God's presence in the human being can expel intruders; to accept seriously the commands "Go; be it done for you as you have believed" (Mt. 8.13) and "according to your faith, be it done to you" (Mt. 9.29; see also Mt. 15.28) are positive instruments in religion as well as in medicine and psychology.

The dialogue between religion, medicine, and psychology must continue, for they have many elements converging in their interest for the well-being of humanity. A critical analysis of the teachings of Orthodox Christianity on the nature and destiny of the human being reveals but little that is antithetical to the pursuits and goals of medicine and psychology. The voice of the sacrament of holy Unction and of other liturgical services and prayers is a life-affirming voice, speaking the positive, looking not only for the holiness but

also for the wholeness of soul, mind, and body.

The healing approach of Orthodox Christianity is not necessarily the destruction or elimination of illness but the realization of human potential within the dynamics of God's creation.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the prayers for health, Orthodox Christianity also has prayers for the peaceful departure of the ill person from physical reality into a metaphysical perpetual existence. That is, the voice of the faith is not only life-affirming in time but also life-affirming in eternity. Should the inevitable come in spite of prayers and medical assistance, the patient must surrender to God's spirit in peace and faith. It must be emphasized, however, that, whether in matters of life or death, the Church only petitions, and does not command it; it only invokes God's intervention and mercy but it does not dictate God's decision.

Another fruitful meeting-point between religion and medicine today lies in the fact that both accept the re-creative power of nature which brings healing. The Church never directly heals anybody. Prayers, services, holy persons, and celebrants are instruments of healing — not healers. On the other hand, physicians, surgeons, psychotherapists are not miracle workers and do not directly heal anybody: they seek by their skills and art to remove obstacles to nature's healing energies, to correct chemical imbalances in the body, or take away diseased tissue.

The trend in Orthodox Christian thought today is to see scientific medicine and the spiritual dimension of man's well-being in a wholistic perspective. The human being is viewed as the totality of reality, however small, as a microcosm of God's creation in the process of deification by reason of his affinity with God. Soul and body are not two separate entities but the spiritual and physical elements of the same being.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>See Stanley Samuel Harakas, "The Eastern Orthodox Tradition," in *Caring and Curing*, ed. by Ronald L. Numbers and Darrel W. Amunden (New York, 1986), esp. pp. 152-53, 166-67.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Harakas, "The Eastern Orthodox Tradition," *ibid.* and Philipides, *Ἡ πίστις*, pp. 9-10.

Though I possess no prophetic charisma and cannot predict whether this approach will be satisfactory to twenty-first-century medicine, I profess my personal satisfaction with what can be called modern Christian Orthodox anthropology. It is a well balanced perception of the nature and destiny of the human being.

Changing technology clearly affects traditional values and ethical principles. Furthermore, the Church has a whole new set of medical ethical questions which it must address. Among them are included: euthanasia; the permissibility of removing life support systems and allowing patients to expire when death is imminent; the moral acceptability of conception outside of the mother's womb; the termination of unwanted pregnancies; and AIDS and the administration of the Eucharist.

Notwithstanding the perplexities involved in the interface of medicine and religion today, the alliance between Orthodox Christian faith and medicine need not be abandoned in the present, and their creative dialogue must be pursued vigorously in the twenty-first century.

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counsel, and spiritual enlightenment. "In the spiritual laboratory of the Egyptian deserts, these seekers after salvation, enlightenment, and union with Christ brought into sharp focus the teachings of the Apostles and the message of Holy Writ in their daily lives and activities . . . And . . . are perfect models for every modern Christian who wishes sincerely to imitate those who have walked the path toward moral and spiritual perfection" (back cover).

In this day and age of moral corruption and decadence, it is most encouraging and inspiring to return to the early Christian Fathers and their high moral teachings. We look forward to the remaining volumes in this fine series.

*John E. Rexine*  
Colgate University

*The Ministry of the Church: Image of Pastoral Care.* By Joseph J. Allen. Foreword by Patriarch Ignatius IV of Great Antioch and all the East. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 232. \$8.95, paper.

The author, a specialist in Pastoral Theology and Care, places special emphasis throughout his book on the word *ministry*. For him, in accordance with Scriptural injunction, "to minister is to serve (*diakonēσαι*).” He declares early and clearly that his "study is a simple study in its intent and format. Since among all the theologians with an Orthodox or Eastern Christian background, none have written about the Church with such a focus on the ministry, my prayer and hope is that this study will find its contribution" (p. 11). Father Joseph Allen sees the ministry as service and the one who serves as appointed by God, a disciple called by God, an apostle, one "sent" by God. The ministry as service is the Church's ministry and "There is no true ministry which is not that of the Church, for the Church is Christ's Body in the world" (p. 14). The functions which Father Allen sees as generic to Orthodox ministry are (1) ministry is doing something; (2) for the advent of the Kingdom; (3) expressed in public; (4) realized in such forms as witnessing, celebrating, guiding and teaching; (5) given in behalf of community (in leadership and prophecy); and (6) is a gift (charism) grounded in the faith of either baptism or ordina-

tion to an office.

Father Allen notes that every act of God's revelation is his way of calling us to himself in reconciliation, and theology ("a word about God") which is the handmaid of ministry, for we can know of God only what he has determined to disclose to us. Ministry is thus basically a theological activity. The main thesis proposed by Father Allen is that "This ministry, then, this service which is theological, is a service *of* God, offered *to* God, and *in behalf of* God through his Church; it is *God's* service to his creation in which we participate. Thus, in our most human ministry, always the same, always varied, we are but continuing his service, his ministry" (p. 17).

The three parts of Joseph Allen's book are organized under "Ministry to the Community," "The Ministry of the Word," and "The Ministry of Spiritual Counsel." In Part 1 the four chapters deal respectively with "Christ the Great Shepherd"; "The First Shepherds after Christ"; "The Person and Role of the Shepherd in the Church"; and "The Relations of Shepherd and Flock." The two chapters constituting Part 2 concern themselves with "Preaching in the Scripture and the Fathers" and "Contemporary Preaching," while Part 3 consists of three chapters called "Growth into True Life"; "Spiritual Growth and the Secular World"; and "The Person of the Pastor."

Though Father Allen is careful to call to our attention the ministry of the laity (by baptism), it is the ministry of the clergy, whose priesthood comes through an ordination that is the gift of Christ's love. Both achieve personhood within a Christian community and both ministries offer sacrifice as the Church itself is a sacrifice. The minister as shepherd leads the faithful through prayers and the Eucharist and by preaching. Using Scriptural and Patristic sources, Father Allen stresses that "Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . brings to perfection priests for the altar of God, and he does this by sanctifying them in very truth, making them share in his own nature by communication of the Spirit, and in a manner fusing the nature of man with a power and glory which is more than human" (p. 124). Contemporary preaching, we are shown, involves (1) "The Word" and "Words": What to preach; (2) the form of preaching in the liturgical cycle; and (3) preaching the "story" or *mythos* of Christian personhood. The Word of God involves the act of God. The Word bears the entire process from the source

to the application in which the full range of the ministry comes into play. Ultimately, ministry and theology join together to guide humankind to *theosis*, endowing the individual with true consciousness of choice to grow dynamically and realize one's true self in God. The pastor in his ministry has for his primary task to help the faithful make the right choice to grow to *theosis*. The priest serves as God's instrument, a human mediator acting for the "sole mediator" who is Christ. Put in Father Allen's own summarizing words, "In the ministry of counsel, then, the pastoral counselor is indeed present to introduce persons to themselves, to their *true* selves. This represents growth" (p. 200). The pastoral counselor must not forget his Christian role of reconciler of others and himself to Christ through a life of unceasing prayer.

*The Ministry of the Church* should serve as a timely reminder and guide to clergy of their own distinctive roles in the life of the Church and to the laity of their distinctive roles in that same Church. Only in this way can the special character of each's unique contribution be understood within a proper Orthodox Christian framework.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*Patterns of Episcopal Leadership*. Ed. Gerald Fogarty. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989. Pp. 306. \$29.95, cloth.

In the renewal of the Church in the present age seeking to bring it into line with the heritage of the undivided Church of the first millenium, the factors of personality and leadership, under the Holy Spirit, play no small part. Indeed, in the western hemisphere both Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism have had to plow new paths in developing the synodical and collegial forms necessary if the Church is to be true to its timeless mandate. This relatively concise volume by a corps of excellent American scholars provides a very helpful collection of perspectives on the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

The introduction by Father Fogarty outlines quite concisely the role of the United States hierarchy relative to its own flock and to its relationship with Rome. The essays on eighteenth and nineteenth century bishops, largely English and French, disclose

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## The Notion of Rhetoric in the Eastern Orthodox Patristic Tradition

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### HIEROMONK AUXENTIOS

RHETORIC IS NOT SOMETHING DISASSOCIATED FROM THE GREEK Fathers. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the vast majority of patristic scholars, East and West, look to these Fathers as a paradigm of theological discourse set forth in image, language, and form reminiscent of the most beautiful in classical rhetoric. Saint Gregory the Theologian, for example, has been universally hailed in the Church as a master of classical rhetoric. But if style and form and impression and expression are integral to the transmission and communication of truth in Western theological and spiritual thought, and if they form that two-part construct of spirit and message so vital to the traditional Reformed notion of preaching as the very revelation and actualization of the Word of God — a notion which has reached far beyond the Reformed tradition in present-day homiletics — such, to be sure, is not an apt statement of rhetoric as it is understood in traditional Eastern Orthodox thought. This point must be made. From an Eastern Orthodox perspective, from that perspective formed in and by the Greek patristic ethos, rhetoric is an adornment, as it were, to the truth — albeit one intimately and immediately linked to the truth. Just as truth, for the Eastern Fathers, is expressed in their rhetoric, so too they reserved for such rhetoric, for this special medium of expression, the message of truth. If rhetoric and the truth form

\*I would like to thank Professor Lyons of the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, for her advice and suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

a single thing, it is not so much that one is contained in the other, but that rhetoric most appropriately complements the truth.

If we are to understand the subtle unique nature of rhetoric as it is received in traditional Orthodox thought, then we must understand this uniqueness, in turn, within the context of the singularly unique truth to which it is suited. If rhetoric is an adornment, as we have said, its particular character and beauty can be understood only by clearly understanding the truth which it adorns and which, in turn, gives to it a distinct flavor and effectiveness. To the extent that rhetoric has a power of its own, that power constantly and inevitably returns to the truth from which it derives by adornment. Let us, then, look at the unique statement of theological truth put forth in the Eastern Orthodox tradition and the crucial role which that statement plays in analyzing and understanding rhetoric in that tradition and in distinguishing it from rhetoric as it might be understood in other theological and intellectual systems.

How is it that the search for truth is set forth in the *corpus* of traditional Orthodox theological writings and discourses? In his now classic study, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, the late Protopresbyter Georges Florovsky proffers a trenchant treatment of the problematic relationship between Scripture and tradition in the early Church. In it lies a classical statement about theological truth from the Eastern Orthodox view. He observes that the essential hermeneutic concern of the early Fathers was not the search for an image or principle of authority — in the sense of an institution or a dogmatic — , but rather the establishment of a *criterion* upon which to determine Christian truth: an operational principle to guide one in the science of authentic and authoritative interpretation that we today call hermeneutics. Indeed, in the early Church both the Orthodox and heretical parties were in accord in affirming that what is true is authoritative. One might say that, for the early Fathers, these two terms were virtually synonymous. Orthodox and heretics in the early Church were, for the most part, also in agreement with regard to the necessity of putting forth any appeal to truth in a strictly Scriptural context. Thus, Scripture constituted for the primitive Christian community the most perfect expression of the truth. The disagreements which separated the orthodox and heretical parties centered on how this appeal was to be made: How does one rightly determine

the meaning of the words contained in Scripture? And here, in contradistinction to the heretics — for whom there reigned multifarious determinants — the orthodox were in full agreement. “Tradition,” in the words of Father Florovsky, “was the only means to ascertain and to disclose the true meaning of Scripture.”<sup>1</sup> He expands on this pithy formula as follows:

Tradition was in the early Church, first of all, an hermeneutical principle and method. Scripture could be rightly and fully assessed and understood only in the light and in the context of the living Apostolic Tradition, which was an integral factor of Christian existence. It was so, of course, not because Tradition could add anything to what has been manifested in the Scripture, but because it provided that living context, the comprehensive perspective, in which only the true “intention” and the total “design” of the Holy Writ, of Divine Revelation itself, could be detected and grasped.<sup>2</sup>

In further speaking of truth as a product of proper Scriptural interpretation drawn from authentic tradition, Father Florovsky undertakes a careful examination of the various terms employed by the orthodox in their appeals to tradition: Saint Vincent of Lérins’ “ecclesiastical understanding,” Tertullian’s “rule of faith,” Saint Athanasios’ “scope of faith,” Saint Basil’s “unwritten mysteries of the Church” and “intention of the Scripture,” and Saint Augustine’s “catholic preaching.”<sup>3</sup> His conclusion is that, in the early Church, an appeal to tradition, or, as it is later more commonly called, an appeal to the witness of the Fathers, was neither a selective appeal — an appeal to a particular Father whose words confirmed what one wanted to say — nor an appeal to antiquity — grounded, as such an appeal usually is, on the erroneous premise that what is older is always more genuine (for, indeed, there are heresies older than the formulations by which they were subsequently refuted). Rather, the appeal to the Fathers was to a certain commonality of mind and thought, the patristic *phronema*, the *consensus patrum*. And the unique characteristic of this consensus was its spiritual — its ecclesiastical — dimension. The

<sup>1</sup> Georges Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, MA, 1972), pp. 74-75.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 73-79.

consensus of the Fathers was not contained in majority opinion, though the majority might hold to it; rather, it was rooted in, belonged to and proceeded from the spiritual authority of the Church, the pillar and foundation of truth.<sup>4</sup>

This *consensus* was much more than just an empirical agreement of individuals. The true and authentic *consensus* was that which reflected the mind of the Catholic and Universal Church — τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φρόνημα ("the ecclesiastical mind" or "the mind of the Church").<sup>5</sup>

The *consensus patrum* (the mind [*phronema*] of the Fathers), the mind of the Church and indeed, the mind of Christ — all of these are synonymous for Father Florovsky. To some extent, they refer to yet another and more essential criterion of truth recognized by the early Church and championed by the Greek Fathers: one which rests in the transformation and renewal of the human mind. This renewal is one to which all Christians are called. The response of the *novus homo*, a man or woman restored in Christ, to the imperative call of this vocation lies at the very core of Eastern Orthodox spirituality: "... Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God."<sup>6</sup> This vocation is, as much as anything else, the vehicle for an epistemological and hermeneutic principle: the beginning of a spiritual ascent and renewal of the mind in which we come to know and understand the criterion of Truth.<sup>7</sup>

But in another and more universal sense, the renewal of human consciousness, the single believer's participation in the mind of the Fathers, itself focuses on the Church, on Christ, and, as such, stands on the pillar and foundation, even the source, of truth. The logic here is somewhat tautological in nature, though in no way compromised by the pejorative connotations attached to the tautological; rather, it is the logic appropriate to that which in singularity is one with what single elements in consort form together. For

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1 Timothy 3.15.

<sup>5</sup> Florovsky, *Bible*, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Romans 12.2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Corinthians 2.15-16.



he who quickens his body, the Church, is the source of truth and the supreme authority. To the extent that we have the mind of Christ, that we attain, through spiritual transformation, to a oneness with him, we apprehend and understand the truth. In the transformed individual resides that mind which makes all individuals one and which gives to the one that universal knowledge dwelling in all and derived from the One. Thus, we know the truth by possessing it and possess it by our knowledge. To help unravel this circularity, let us look a little closer at the Orthodox conception of dogmatic truth and its relation to the renewal of the human mind.

Father John Romanides, a contemporary Greek theologian and a student of Father Florovsky, is one of the most prominent figures in the so-called "patristic renewal" of the Orthodox Church, an intellectual movement that began some decades ago both in Eastern European and the Western Orthodox theological circles. He has been an active voice in efforts, at least in the theological arena, to return Orthodox thought to its traditional roots and to remove from it many of the Western ideas and theological conceptualizations that have compromised and distorted its witness. In several of his works, he has maintained that the dogmatic contentions of the early Church arose from a confrontation between an empirical (what he considers the properly orthodox) and a speculative (potentially or manifestly heretical) view of the science of theology. The former view (theological method, if you will), he argues, is founded and formulated on a therapeutic asceticism (a curative restoration of the human being through spiritual and bodily *askesis*; viz., among other things, intense love for God, the cultivation of selfless love, mental prayer, fasting, and warfare with the fallen world). It uses the nomenclature of its day, both Hebraic and Hellenic, to formulate its observations and to guide others to a verification of its formulae by replication.

Father Romanides remarks that, "in the Orthodox patristic tradition, genuine spiritual experience is the foundation of dogmatic formulations which, in turn, are necessary guides for leading [one] to glorification. . . . The experience of glorification of the prophets, apostles, and saints are [*sic.*] expressed in linguistic forms, whose purpose is to act as a guide to the same experience of glorification by their successors."<sup>8</sup> In contrast to this, the purveyors of

<sup>8</sup> John S. Romanides, *Franks, Romans, Feudalism, and Doctrine* (Brookline,

the speculative tradition were not convinced of the necessity of grounding theological formulae in empirical fact. Rather, this school was generally optimistic about the intrinsic ability of the mind, independent of empirical experience, to reason and formulate on the loftiest of matters pertaining to the Divine. The highly refined philosophical vocabulary of the Greek language and, more importantly, the basic presuppositions of the philosophies that shaped that language were the tools of this speculative school. Father Romanides contends that this approach, divorced, as it were, from any notion of empirical verification and trusting in the mind's innate reasoning abilities, was destined to repeat the "errors of the ancients." The "dogmas" of these speculative heretics, while perhaps pleasing in their logic and consistency, were essentially counterfeits, he argues, that misled the faithful and gave them "stones instead of bread."

Father Romanides characterizes the foregoing distinction between the empirical and speculative theological methods with a remarkable analogy, likening those who were Orthodox in their understanding to contemporary practitioners of the hard sciences. His analogy also clarifies the patristic understanding of human language (thus, we should emphasize, touching tangentially on matters rhetorical), *vis-à-vis* the spiritual, and the importance of the traditional hermeneutic that accompanies that language.

The Fathers did not understand theology as a theoretical or speculative science, but as a positive [i.e., positivistic] science in all respects. . . .

Scientific manuals are inspired by the observations of specialists. For example, the astronomer records what he observes by means of the instruments at his disposal. Because of his training in the use of . . . [these] . . . instruments, he is inspired by the heavenly bodies, and sees things invisible to the naked eye. Books about science can never replace scientific observations. These writings are not the observations themselves, but [are] about these observations. . . .

[Moreover], . . . the writings of scientists are accompanied by a tradition of interpretation, heeded by successor scientists, who, by training and experience, know what their colleagues mean by the language used and how to repeat the observations described.<sup>9</sup>

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MA, 1982), p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. pp. 40-41.

And here follows the completion of the analogy:

The same is true of the Orthodox understanding of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers. Neither the Bible nor the writings of the Fathers are revelation or the word of God. They are *about* revelation and *about* the Word of God [emphasis mine].

. . . Only those who have the same experience of glorification as their prophetic, apostolic, and patristic predecessors can understand what the biblical and Patristic writings are saying about glorification and the spiritual stages leading to it. Those who have reached glorification know how they were guided there, as well as how to guide others, and they are the guarantors of the transmission of this same tradition.<sup>10</sup>

The general points that Father Romanides is making are simple enough. First, he contends that the holy Scripture and the writings of the Fathers are essentially testimony *about* God's revelation to man. This revelation, itself, is primarily comprised of the vision of the uncreated Glory of God, whether it be in the Old Testament prophetic visions of the Logos appearing as the Angel of God, the Angel of Great Council, the Lord of Glory, or the Lord of Sabaoth; or, after the Incarnation and Pentecost, through the human nature of God the Word incarnate. Second, he claims that the *utterances* made by those who have received this vision *are not to be mistaken* for the revelations themselves. From the standpoint of these visions (revelations) themselves, such words are necessarily imperfect — though from our standpoint they may carry the force of infallible dogma or correct doctrine.

Finally, the revelation of God — the vision of God — is not a unique historical event, not something confined to Scriptural revelation or even the Incarnation or *Parousia*; it is, rather, something assigned to each person, to be experienced by every human being, first in this life and then in the other. Therefore, the recorded testimonies of those who, throughout the course of history, have had this vision — the Prophets, Apostles, and Fathers and Mothers of the Church — are meant as guidebooks. And these books are most properly and correctly employed by those who, in each succeeding generation, have passed through (or at least are undergoing) the stages of purification and illumination that lead to

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

glorification, or the vision of God. Such men and women, in turn, can wield these books, by their own discretion and with their counsel, to guide others through the same processes and to the same experiences. This mastership of spirituality was the original criterion for election to ordination and license to preach.

We must touch on a few final elements in our treatment of the unique notion of truth found in Eastern Orthodox theology and spiritual practice. First, the Greek Fathers everywhere insist on the ultimate unknowability of God. This is a touchstone, one might say, of the consensual theology. "Eastern theology," Father Florovsky notes, has "been always committed to the belief that God [is] absolutely 'incomprehensible' — ἀκατάληπτος — and unknowable in His nature or essence. . . . 'One insults God who seeks to apprehend his essential being,' says Chrysostom. . . . The 'essence of God' is absolutely inaccessible to man, says Saint Basil (*Against Eunomios* 1.14)."<sup>11</sup>

As well, there is, in Eastern patristic thinking, a fundamental division between the uncreated and the created realms, the uncreated pertaining to the Holy Trinity and the created to all else—from angelic beings to lifeless matter. Now, human language is among those things included in the category of the created and is wholly incapable of describing or conveying the uncreated. This observation has obvious importance for the subject of rhetoric, since it touches on the notion of communication, though in a fundamentally theological way. It behooves us, here, to quote Father Romanides' reference to the thought of Saint Gregory of Nyssa on this matter, since the latter's observations have become authoritative for the Orthodox patristic tradition. As such, they will reinforce our subsequent specific commentary on rhetoric in the Eastern patristic tradition.

St. Gregory . . . insists that all words and languages are products of human accommodations to the necessities of communication on the human level, and all concepts either conveyed by words or simply contemplated can never extricate themselves from their creaturely qualities. Knowledge of God, therefore, cannot be conceptual. God cannot be reached by contemplation. God is not like anything man experiences either intellectually or by sensation. Knowledge of God

<sup>11</sup>Florovsky, *Bible*, pp. 115-16.

can be had only from those who have been the objects of this revelation, which is above all rational and sentient categories. It is a knowledge which can be indicated but not conveyed by human language or concepts.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, as we have observed, through the process of purification, illumination, and ultimately glorification, it is possible for us to become "partakers of the divine nature."<sup>13</sup> This participation, according to Orthodox theology, does not compromise the unknowability of God, since the Greek Fathers make a clear and firm distinction between the divine essence and divine energies of God. The divine essence of God is totally unknowable. The transcendent God, as essence, is forever transcendent and beyond human knowledge. The divine energies, however, correspond to God's creative, vivifying, and ruling powers, and, being communicable, account for man's glorification. But even these communicable aspects of God, because they are uncreated, are also inconceivable; they can be communicated, or passed on, but they are beyond human conceptualization. Let us recall the words of Saint Gregory the Theologian:

What is this that has happened to me? . . . I was running to lay hold on God, and thus I went up into the Mount, and drew aside the curtain of the Cloud, and entered away from matter and material things, and as far as I could I withdrew within myself. And then when I looked up, I scarce saw the back parts of God; although I was sheltered by the Rock, the Word that was made flesh for us. And when I looked a little closer, I saw, not the First and unmingled Nature, known to Itself — to the Trinity, I mean; not That which abideth within the first veil, and is hidden by the Cherubim; but only that Nature, which at last even reaches to us. And that is, as far as I can learn, the Majesty, or as holy David calls it, the Glory which is manifested among the creatures, which It has produced and governs. . . .

Therefore we must begin again thus. It is difficult to conceive God but to define Him in words is an impossibility, as one of the Greek

<sup>12</sup>John S. Romanides, "Highlights in the Debate Over Theodore of Mopsuestia's Christology and Some Suggestions for a Fresh Approach," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 5 (1959-1960) 177.

<sup>13</sup>2 Peter 1.4.

teachers of Divinity taught, not unskillfully, as it appears to me. . . . But in my opinion it is impossible to express Him, and yet more impossible to conceive Him.<sup>14</sup>

It was his mystical experience that first prompted Saint Gregory to theologize. In fact, in his "First Theological Oration" he maintains that to theologize "is permitted only to those who have passed examinations and have reached *theoria* ["mystical vision" — often badly translated as "contemplation" or "meditation"], and who have been previously purified in soul and body, or at least are being purified."<sup>15</sup> Yet he immediately qualifies his observation by noting that such experience is not within the domain of human language and concepts: "It is impossible to express Him, and yet more impossible to conceive Him." "In this way" — that is, on the foundation of personal spiritual experience and mindful of the limitations of human thought —, Saint Gregory says, "shalt thou discourse of God."<sup>16</sup>

Let us now weigh some of the implications of the unique theological schema of the Eastern Fathers for an Orthodox rhetoric. In the first place, the spiritual stature of a minister or Church teacher; advancement through the stages of purification, illumination, and glorification; empirical, rather than merely conceptual or theoretical knowledge of the goal of Christian life, . . . the vision of God; or progress along these paths — these constitute the fundamental criteria for Orthodox Christian preaching. In the words of Saint John Chrysostomos:

. . . I pass over all those qualities and . . . superfluous embellishments of pagan writers. I take no account of diction or style. Let a man's diction be beggarly and his verbal composition simple and artless, but do not let him be inexpert in the knowledge and careful statement of doctrine.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, as we earlier noted in a remarkable quote from Father

<sup>14</sup>St. Gregory Nazianzen, "The Second Theological Oration," *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* [Series 2], 7, 289-90.

<sup>15</sup>See this quotation in Romanides, *Franks*, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup>See note 14 [p. 289].

<sup>17</sup>St. John Chrysostom, *On the Priesthood*. Tr. G. Neville (Crestwood, NY, 1977), pp. 121-22.

John Romanides, "in the Orthodox patristic tradition, genuine spiritual experience is the foundation of dogmatic formulations which, in turn, are necessary guides for leading to glorification."<sup>18</sup> By the same token, the proclamation of the Word of God, the virtual explication of dogma and doctrine, rests squarely, in the Orthodox spiritual tradition, on the same "genuine spiritual experience." As one Orthodox writer has noted, true preachers of the word are found "where there is theory pregnant with true experience," warning us, in the words of the desert Fathers, that those who employ beautiful words to describe things which they have not themselves experienced are like "a tree which has beautiful leaves, but bears no fruit."<sup>19</sup>

In terms of classical rhetorical categories, it is ethos, the formation of the preacher, to which Orthodox homiletics is primarily subject. And this formation is founded upon an asceticism therapeutically applied to the preacher's whole being; an *askesis* that in turn affords him or her an empirical knowledge of the subject matter, the logos (and, indeed, the Logos). Orthodox rhetoric can best be likened, therefore, to the third of the three ancient rhetorical traditions: the technical, sophistic, and philosophical. Plato [or Socrates] placed great emphasis on a rhetor's need for intimate knowledge of the truth of things, as opposed to knowledge based on deductions from logical probabilities. It is this image of true rhetorical art that best fits that of the Eastern Orthodox Church. As Plato writes,

Until someone knows the truth of each thing about which he speaks or writes . . . , not until then will it be possible for speech to exist in an artistic form. . . .<sup>20</sup>

This quotation might easily be attributed to an Eastern Orthodox commentator on homiletics or the rhetoric attendant to it.

For the Eastern patristic tradition, then, Plato was right on

<sup>18</sup>See note 8.

<sup>19</sup>Bishop Chrysostomos, "St. Gregory Palamas on the Hesychasts." In Bishop Chrysostomos, Hieromonk Auxentios, and Hierodeacon Akakios' *Contemporary Eastern Orthodox Thought: The Traditionalist Voice* (Belmont, MA, 1982), p. 58.

<sup>20</sup>See this quotation in George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition From Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), p. 59.

the mark in his statement about the fundamentals of effective rhetoric or preaching. The Greek Fathers, however, placed much less trust in the perceptual apparatus of the human being than Plato. Whereas the classical Greek ideal of the rhetorician entails lofty demands on human capabilities, the Greek patristic tradition rests its ideal on the transformed individual — on a person purified of the foibles that render this philosophical ideal, however lofty and elevated, unattainable. Moreover, the transmission of the very method by which human nature is lifted up to the traits of the ideal rhetorician is part and parcel of what Orthodox rhetoric is. This transmission, this tradition or handing-down (*paradosis*) of the rhetorical ideal, is for the Orthodox Fathers a living process, giving birth and form to human words and images; the philosophical rhetorical ideal, in this sense, is no tradition at all, but is at best stillborn.

In the second place, we can make some remarks in regard to “invention,” the process by which the rhetorician decides upon the subject of his discourse. Many rhetorical theories confidently commend holy Scripture as a multi-faceted source of wisdom or inspiration for the preacher’s art — an indispensable aid in homiletic invention. Saint Augustine, though he elsewhere expresses some reservations in this regard, succinctly expresses the same idea in the fourth book of his *On Christian Doctrine*: “For a man speaks more or less wisely to the extent that he has become more or less proficient in the holy Scriptures.”<sup>21</sup> For an Orthodox theory of invention, the order is backwards. Saint Augustine’s words *should read*: “One speaks more or less scripturally to the extent that one is more or less proficient in wisdom.”

Divine wisdom, indwelling the purified, illumined, and glorified human soul, is that which enables one properly to comprehend the message of sacred Scripture and to employ it, or similar words, in guiding others to purification, illumination, and glorification — to divine wisdom, and, thereby, to an identical understanding of Scripture. In the East, centuries of struggle with heretics, most of them tremendously facile and “proficient” in the Scriptures, drove this point home. So did the preaching and orthodox witness of a veritable choir of desert ascetics, many of whom, though

<sup>21</sup>St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson (New York, 1987), p. 122.



actually unversed in literal or rhetorical knowledge of Holy Writ, rose to prophetic stature and were thus able to transmit the genuine wisdom of the Christian Scriptures.

For the Christian East, the fruit of a spiritual life correctly cultivated and the copious wisdom proceeding from the transformed and God-bearing soul are the proper sources of and inspiration for the preacher's words. To the extent that a preacher relies on logical, conceptual, or linguistic analyses of the Scriptures or any other spiritual writings, he or she is all the more open to the subjective faults of "personal interpretation" and to possible error. At best, the speculative spirit of the unenlightened is a matter of the "blind leading the blind." At worst, especially when it engenders philosophical speculation about God, this spirit gives birth to heresy, a fall "into the ditch." Thus it is that the Christian East carefully heeds such scriptural warnings as that of Saint Peter about the epistles of Saint Paul, "in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction."<sup>22</sup>

In the third place, the Orthodox understanding of rhetoric also places tremendous responsibility on the listener. Just as the preacher can only rightly speak to the extent that he has been — or is being — purified, illumined, and glorified, so the listener can only rightly receive these words to the extent that he or she has undergone or is undergoing the same process of transformation. "Purify yourselves," cries Saint John Chrysostomos over and over again in his introductory homily on Saint John's Gospel, warning that otherwise hours of listening are in vain. The theme is ubiquitous in patristic homilies.

What we have said regarding the Orthodox understanding of true Christian knowledge, as well as the role and limitations of human language and concepts in attaining that knowledge, profoundly affects the Eastern Orthodox view of the various prescriptive rhetorical traditions bequeathed to the Christian world by the ancients. Because Eastern Christians are so keenly aware of the limitations of words and concepts, especially with regard to the uncreated realities which they know so well as the cornerstone of Christian experience, the Orthodox Church has never canonized

<sup>22</sup>2 Peter 3.16.

a particular technical or prescriptive rhetoric. Rather, comments about rhetorical methods seem to be limited to warnings against excess. Classical rhetorical traditions did remain the foundation of primary education in Byzantium, and various Greek Fathers enjoyed such training, as their writings demonstrate. But for these Fathers, as for the Christian East in general, rhetorical elements of style and technique are wholly a matter of accident, not essence. Moreover, however lofty even the accidental rhetoric of the Eastern Greek Fathers, it has from the very beginning enjoyed a dignity secondary always to that of spiritual wisdom itself. Let us illustrate this with a story from the Egyptian desert:

Once Abba Arsenios revealed his thoughts to an Egyptian Elder and asked him about them. But a certain other Abba saw him and said to him: 'Abba Arsenios, you have had so much education in Greek and Latin, yet you ask this man, so unlettered in worldly knowledge, about your thoughts?'

Abba Arsenios said to him: 'Indeed, I know Roman and Greek letters well; but I have not yet learned even the alphabet of this simple man.'<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Archimandrite Chrysostomos [now bishop], *The Ancient Fathers of the Desert* (Brookline, MA, 1980), p. 19.

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## The Person, *Pathe*, Asceticism, and Spiritual Restoration in Saint Maximos

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GREGORY TELEPNEFF AND BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS

AN EGREGIOUSLY ERRONEOUS, IF RATHER COMMON, ATTRIBUTION to the ascetic theology of Saint Maximos is that it contains elements of Platonic dualism and exhibits, in general, the “contamination” by classical Greek philosophy supposedly so ubiquitous in the *corpus* of Eastern Patristic writings. In fact, this attribution, if not the more sweeping diagnosis of the Greek Fathers *in toto*, is rooted in a misunderstanding of the course of consistent development to be found in Eastern Orthodox theology. This development — the formation of a dogmatic and doctrinal consensus that expresses the corporate *phronema* of the Church Fathers — lies, indeed, at the very heart of theology as the Orthodox Church understands it. To capture the significance of any Church Father, one must place his writings within the context of this development. Thus, to understand Saint Maximos properly, we must carefully place his ascetic theology in the context of a conscious and deliberate development of thought which, we would submit, actually directed him (and the Greek Fathers along with him) away from the dualistic errors of Greek classical philosophy — and Platonism in particular. It was the very task of the Fathers to *rid* Christian theology of contaminants from Greek classical philosophy, which was the conceptual tool of early Christian theology, and from those who, in misusing this tool, added to the structure of revelation speculative elements inconsistent both with the content and intent of revelation. Such was the task of Saint Maximos, and one which he tackled with singular success.

In Patristic literature, the seventh century was a watershed century in the development of ascetic theology, which had been undergoing a process of refinement in expression for several generations. By this time, occasional controversies and disputes having been resolved,<sup>1</sup> the Church had developed a fairly consensual statement about the fundamental doctrines of theological anthropology. Body-soul dualism, even in its qualified Platonic form, had been emphatically rejected as unacceptable and inconsistent with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh. And notions of the pre-existence of souls — both the Origenistic theory of previous life and theories of an independent “conceptual” existence of the soul before birth — were rejected, despite the fact that they had their articulate proponents (Leontios of Byzantium a notable case in point),<sup>2</sup> as a Hellenistic aberration.

More importantly, the seventh century saw the culmination of some very careful investigations of the meaning of embodied existence. These investigations drew on the ascetic experience of several successive generations of holy men and women who had discovered *empirically*, not only that the highest element of human composition, the *nous*, could attain to purification and a knowledge of God, but that even the lower faculties of the soul (if not the sensible faculties) could acquire a certain knowledge of things divine — and thus play a positive role in the spiritual life. They discovered that while, at the highest levels of spiritual perfection and purification, the human person relates to God *most directly* through the *nous*, one can nonetheless at the same time interact with the sensible world without passion or sin, rendering the mundane spiritually beneficial. Such discoveries about the nature of embodied existence constitute a correction of the Hellenistic idea of “detachment,” wherein one strives to “separate” the higher soul from the detrimental effects of involvement in the sensible world on the proper function of the *nous*,<sup>3</sup> a principle of classical dualism *par excellence*.

<sup>1</sup> For example, the Anthropomorphite controversy (c. 400); recurrent problems of Origenism, in certain monastic quarters; and the Aphthartodocetistic controversy, which, although Christological in nature, may be viewed as largely springing from anthropological issues.

<sup>2</sup> We refer here to his Origenistic anthropology and the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology*

It is important that we understand this correction of classical Hellenistic thought that marks the seventh-century articulation of a fully Christian understanding of man and the spiritual significance of his physical and mental worlds. Underlying the classical Greek idea of spiritual growth and attainment, of freedom from the passions and senses (*apatheia*), is the assumption that the lower movements or "drives" of the soul must be *separated* from the *nous*, rather than purified and restored to a beneficial and proper function. The roots of this assumption are found in Plato and his division of the soul into rational and irrational parts.<sup>4</sup> From the Hellenistic perspective, spiritual growth and the restoration of man rests in freeing the *nous* from all that adversely impinges upon its simplicity — the passions and the senses — , so that the pure and simplified intellect can unite with the divine.

In contrast to this Hellenistic formula, the Greek Fathers focus on the unification of all human powers or faculties and their facilitation, *in concord*, of man's movement toward God and virtue.<sup>5</sup> Simplicity, the ascetic theorists of early Christianity demonstrate, lies in the unified and "harmonious" interaction of all human faculties or energies. Behind this Patristic correction there is, of course, an understanding of the material, created world and its ultimate place in the cosmos which is profoundly different from that of the classical philosophers and Hellenistic thinkers.<sup>6</sup>

As we have noted, these Patristic corrections of Hellenistic thought and the development of a consensus statement of Christian theological anthropology and ascetic theology are part of a long and consistent development preceding the watershed of the seventh century. Saint Gregory the Theologian and, to a greater

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of *Maximus the Confessor* (Lund, 1965), pp. 187-205 (*pass.*), pp. 317-26. For a more detailed treatment of Plotinos, see H. J. Blumenthal, *Plotinus' Psychology* (The Hague, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. Cavarnos, *Plato's View of Man* (Belmont, MA, 1975), pp. 37ff; also, Thunberg, *Microcosm*, pp. 187-90.

<sup>5</sup> A. Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford, 1981), contends that, for Plato, virtues are only a means to an end (the detachment of the *nous*) but of no value in and of themselves, whereas in patristic thought they are the very goal of the Christian life in that they constitute the actual indwelling of Christ in the believer. Cf. pp. 198-99.

<sup>6</sup> Epikuros is an admitted exception here.

extent, Saint Gregory of Nyssa<sup>7</sup> are notable pioneers in this developmental process. By the fifth century their efforts and those of other Fathers had resulted in a fairly complex and explicit ascetic theology. (See, in this respect, the excellent commentaries of Saint Diadochos of Photike.<sup>8</sup>) But it is Saint Maximos in whom this process of development finds its final expression. In his writings, the consensual doctrines of theological anthropology developed by the Greek Fathers are much more clearly developed than anywhere else.<sup>9</sup> And in his ascetic theology, this clarity is particularly evident. Here we see his clear repudiation of Hellenistic dualism and his brilliant synthesis of Greek Patristic ideas on spiritual growth and the restoration of the self. We come to understand the brilliant "originality" of Christian anthropology and psychology, not as it is transformed or vitiated by the tools of classical Greek philosophy, but as it transforms and wholly "Christianizes" pagan Hellenism: the oft-missed paradox of the true "Hellenization" of Christianity.

Saint Maximos is perhaps the *first* great synthesizer and elucidator of earlier Patristic thought.<sup>10</sup> His commentaries on the self and spiritual growth, contained largely in his *Centuries on Agape* [CA], *Centuries on Theology* [CT], and the so-called *Ambigua*, speak of this greatness, and his texts are notoriously difficult, not only from the standpoint of the complexity of his Greek, but also with regard to the profundity of his thought and philosophical methodology. Our comments in a paper this size, then, can be at best cursory and summary. But the reader will, we hope, gain some insight in this overview into the complex understanding of asceticism and spiritual growth that Saint Maximos' synthetic theology has bequeathed to the Christian Church and some idea of the distinct differences between the Hellenistic and the Greek Patristic

<sup>7</sup> See this more positive view in his later works: e.g., *De Mortuis*. His earlier works (e.g., the *Life of St. Macrina*) reflect what can be wrongly characterized as more Platonic views.

<sup>8</sup> See *The Philokalia*, ed. G. E. H. Palmer et al. (London, 1979), I, pp. 251-96 (*pass.*).

<sup>9</sup> St. Gregory Palamas (14th century) is the only Father to develop these ideas further.

<sup>10</sup> S. L. Epifanovitch, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Ispovednik i Vizantiiskoe Bogoslovie* (Kiev, 1915), esp. pp. 1-37, clarifies Saint Maximos' relationship to the earlier Patristic tradition.

view of man, his passions, and his spiritual restoration in *askesis* set forth in that theology.

P. Sherwood<sup>11</sup> has rather carefully explored the relationship between pre-Lapsarian man and the sensible world in the thought of Saint Maximos. His observations are a good starting-point for our investigation. First, Sherwood suggests, in noting a certain development in the Confessor's thought, that Saint Maximos was initially somewhat ambiguous about the presence of the *patheta*, or movements of the lower psychic and sensible faculties, in humanity before the Fall and whether they were, therefore, ontological by nature; i.e., whether they were an essential constituent of human nature. Second, he contends that Saint Maximos is unclear as to whether the soul (or, better, the *nous*) could interact with the sensible realm in the pre-Lapsarian state, or instead interacted exclusively with God. By implication, Sherwood touches on the question of whether the soul in its natural state (which ascetical detachment is meant to foster) can interact with the sensible in a non-sinful or spiritually positive manner: the question of dualistic tendencies in the early Saint Maximos.

Sherwood admits that Saint Maximos, particularly in his later works, emphasizes that such positive interaction is possible. And with regard to the theological integrity of Saint Maximos' arguments *vis-à-vis* Hellenic dualism *per se*, he clearly understands well the larger issues and their attendant implications. However, by adducing the very same passages which lead Sherwood to find a certain ambiguity in Saint Maximos' earlier thought, we can respond to those scholars who do not, like Sherwood, understand the larger issue of the actual nature of the Greek Patristic witness. Perhaps, too, we can shed light on the ostensible difficulties that Sherwood himself finds in Saint Maximos' thought, to the end of defending Saint Maximos against a charge of ambiguity. All of this well serves our general purpose of setting forth a summary statement of Saint Maximos' ascetic theology.

In partial defense of Sherwood, it can be justifiably argued that Saint Maximos is not always consistent in his terminology. Thus,

<sup>11</sup>See his *The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and His Refutation of Origenism* (Rome, 1955) and "Maximus and Origenism: *Arche Kai Telos*," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), pp. 1-40.



the *pathe* in "Ad Thalassios 1"<sup>12</sup> are clearly negative and refer to movements against nature attendant to the fallen state. However, Sherwood fails to note that, despite these occasional inconsistencies in usage, Saint Maximos generally speaks of the passions more expansively and as movements natural or inherent to the soul (though potentially corruptible), and therefore constituents of human ontology. *Pathos*, in this latter sense, does not represent the corruption of a faculty, but "that which is by nature co-existent with beings. For all things suffer movement, as not being self-movement or self-power" [God alone being such].<sup>13</sup> *Pathos* is thus a natural power or faculty,<sup>14</sup> for "the soul . . . by nature partakes in sensations and pain, on account of its *innate* susceptibility of them."<sup>15</sup> Even *thymos* and *epithymia* (rage and desires), extreme among the passions, are "inborn powers" of the soul.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, "the soul possesses, corresponding to its own operations, the natural faculties of the body, as being by nature receptive (of them), because of the soul's complete coming to be with the flesh."<sup>17</sup> It is clear that the inconsistency of Saint Maximos' terminology is not an occasion for the charge of ambiguity. In fact, his protracted comments on the passions are quite clear and show a distinctly positive potential link between the soul and the senses.

Sherwood also characterizes Saint Maximos' understanding of the relationship between the soul and the fallen senses as ambiguous. But this he does because of a subtle misunderstanding of what Saint Maximos says about the consequences of the Fall. Saint Maximos writes that: "God did not concreate for nature in its sense-perceptiveness either pleasure or pain, but constructed a certain faculty in the *nous* for pleasure."<sup>18</sup> Here sense perception does not appear to be part of the original constitution of humanity; nor does sensory pleasure as we now know it. However, Saint Maximos does not, in fact, say that sense perception *per se* did not originally exist in pre-Lapsarian humanity; he merely says

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., "Maximus and Origenism," p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>PG 91.1073B.

<sup>14</sup>PG 91.1072B.

<sup>15</sup>PG 91.488D.

<sup>16</sup>PG 91.1197D.

<sup>17</sup>PG 91.532B.

<sup>18</sup>PG 90.628A.

that pleasure and pain as specific sensations did not accrue to the sensible, but rather (at least in terms of pleasure) to the spiritual faculties of Adam. Elsewhere he is clearer on this point: Adam having directed his faculties primarily toward a sensible orientation, rather than primarily toward God, the Fall occurred. Adam "chose what is pleasant and manifest to the senses *in preference* to the noetic blessings."<sup>19</sup> As a result, after the Fall, pleasure is no longer "spiritually" oriented and, consequently, all constituent human faculties, including the sensible ones, are altered (the patristic doctrine of *ontological corruption*). This *alteration* of the sensible faculties, so that they now include the so-called blameless *pathe* (pain, grief, fear, weariness, hunger, etc.), is what Sherwood clearly misunderstands: Pre-Lapsarian sense perception simply becomes somewhat *altered* as a result of the Fall. Sense perception in its unadulterated form was, indeed, a feature of pre-Lapsarian man.

In another place, Saint Maximos states that neither sensual pleasure nor pain were concreated with man.<sup>20</sup> This Sherwood also views as an ambiguity on the part of the Confessor. But this apparent ambiguity holds only if we ignore the fact that Saint Maximos clearly purports that there initially *existed* a sensation of pleasure in pre-Lapsarian man, as we have noted: a "spiritual" pleasure belonging primarily to the noetic faculty.<sup>21</sup> What then, one may ask, was the specific nature of the sensible faculties and their movements prior to the Fall? Such a question is crucial to our subsequent understanding of the senses in the restored human being and the role of ascetic practice in that restoration. We shall later treat this question at length. At this point, however, we wish simply to stress that there is no direct refutation of the existence of sensible faculties in pre-Lapsarian humanity in any of

<sup>19</sup>PG 91.1345.

<sup>20</sup>See above, n. 18.

<sup>21</sup>In response to the *Aphthartodocetistic* heresy, the Greek Fathers maintained that pain existed potentially in human nature before the Fall and in actuality only after the Fall. Consequently, Christ, in assuming human nature as it existed before the Fall, could genuinely suffer in His human nature. To deny this would be to affirm an incorruptible humanity in Christ and in Adam before the Fall. Pain exists only in *potentia* precisely because suffering and pain are real only as a direct result of the Fall. St. Maximos can hardly have been ignorant of this Christology and its anthropological foundations.

the texts cited by Sherwood.<sup>22</sup> What they say about the Fall is that, through the *Lapsus*, Adam oriented himself, oriented his *nous*, primarily toward the sensible rather than toward God, with a resultant corruption of both his psychic and sensible faculties. In the "natural" (pre-Lapsarian) state of existence, the human body and sensible faculties were subject to the *nous* and directed *primarily* toward a spiritual orientation concerning things, while the *nous* itself was directed primarily toward God (in prayer, for example) and things virtuous.<sup>23</sup>

Having set aside Sherwood's misapprehensions, let us emphasize that Saint Maximos attributes to the sensible faculties (and the lower soul, for that matter) a rather astonishingly positive role. According to Saint Maximos, the major characteristic of man is that he is given, from the moment of creation, the "task" of uniting in himself, as in a "microcosm," the entire cosmos and, through the attainment of union with God, thereby to unite this cosmos with God.<sup>24</sup> The potential unity of the cosmos is actualized only through the fulfillment of this divinely-appointed task.<sup>25</sup> There also naturally exists, according to Saint Maximos, a potential unity between the human body and the material world, between the human body and the soul, and between the soul and God: "The soul lies midway between God and matter and has faculties that unite it with both."<sup>26</sup> Adam's pre-Lapsarian vocation was to effect a realization of this potential unity, "through the right use of his natural faculties"<sup>27</sup>: "bringing into unity in his own person those things which by nature are far distant from each other."<sup>28</sup> His first task was to "unite things sensible and things noetic."<sup>29</sup> His final task was union with God (and therefore the

<sup>22</sup>We shall see subsequently that Saint Maximos speaks explicitly of the existence of sensible faculties prior to the Fall. Moreover, their restored state is evidenced by the *aisthesis theia* mentioned in the context of participation in the Liturgy; cf. *Mystagogia*, PG 91.700B.

<sup>23</sup>*Centuries on Agape* 2.83, 3.72, 4.15; *Centuries on Theology* 1.14.

<sup>24</sup>P. Nellas, *Deification in Christ: Orthodox Perspectives on the Nature of the Human Person* (New York, 1987), p. 54. The second chapter of Part One is central to our interpretation of Saint Maximos.

<sup>25</sup>G. Florovsky, *Vizantiiskie Ottsy V-VIII* (Paris, 1933; 1972), pp. 207-08.

<sup>26</sup>PG 91.1193D.

<sup>27</sup>PG 91.1097C.

<sup>28</sup>PG 91.1305B-C.

<sup>29</sup>PG 91.1308A.

union of the cosmos — unified in human persons — with God), the “uniting of created nature with the uncreated by love, in order to manifest them in their unity and identity. . . . Having acquired grace and integrally and wholly compenetrating with God, [Adam] becomes all that God is, except for identity of essence.”<sup>30</sup>

Though Adam failed in these spiritual tasks and fell, Saint Maximos writes, his work was established and fulfilled by the incarnate Logos, and its efficacy thus accrues to the post-Lapsarian Christian. And part and parcel of the essential purpose of Adam and the whole of Christian humanity is *precisely the uniting of the sensible world with the noetic*, with the soul, and the consequent exclusion of all elements of psychological or essential duality in the human being and in human experience. How Adam was to have accomplished this Saint Maximos elucidates in another text. Here, too, it is clear that Adam’s sensible faculties are pre-Lapsarian in origin.<sup>31</sup> Saint Maximos writes that there exists a “natural” correspondence between the faculties of the soul and the senses of the body: “The senses have been called exemplary images of the faculties of the soul, since each sense with its organ . . . of perception has naturally been assigned *beforehand* to each of the soul’s faculties in an analogous manner. . . .”<sup>32</sup> It is through the intermediary use of the bodily senses that the faculties of the soul are “conveyed” to the sensible world: “The bodily senses themselves . . . may be said to provide the faculties of the soul with information, since they gently activate these faculties of the soul through their own apprehension of the inward essences [*logoi*] of created things; and through this apprehension the divine Logos is recognized . . . [Moreover,] . . . the soul . . . naturally makes use of each of these senses through its own faculties, and in various ways *reaches out through them to sensible things*. If it uses the senses properly, discerning by means of its own faculties the manifold inner essences of created beings, and if it succeeds in wisely *transmitting to itself* all the visible things in which God is hidden and proclaimed in silence, then by the use of its own free choice

<sup>30</sup>PG 91.1308B.

<sup>31</sup>Saint Maximos speaks of “through misuse ruining the faculty given to us naturally from the beginning . . .” [“τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν φυσικῶς πρὸς τοῦτο δοθεῖσαν δύναμιν . . .”], PG 91.1309D.

<sup>32</sup>PG 91.1248B.

[*kata proairesin*], it creates a world of spiritual beauty within the mind. This it does by combining the four general virtues with each other as if they were physical elements . . . [and] taking each virtue as a foundation, it interweaves [*symploki*] the activity of its faculties with the senses."<sup>33</sup> Ideally, then, the *nous* rules and uses the body and its sensible faculties, not the opposite.

This movement of the soul toward the sensible is, on the whole, essentially unilateral.<sup>34</sup> In *CA* 2.15 Saint Maximos writes:

When the *nous* turns its attention to the visible world, it perceives things through the medium of the senses *in a manner which accords with nature*. And the *nous* is not evil, nor is its *natural capacity to form conceptual images of things*, nor are the things themselves, nor are the senses, for they are all the work of God. What, then, is evil? Clearly it is the passion that enters into the conceptual images formed in accordance with nature by the *nous*; and this need not happen if the *nous* keeps watch [over the conceptual images].

The *nous* can either "devoutly and justly conduct itself in conceptual images of the world" (*CA* 3.52), or it can attain an attached or "passionate" (*prospatheias*) (*CA* 1.3) relation to the sensible world. In other words, sensible images *can* be "uncontaminated" (*CT* 1.13). In the orientation of the will and the selection of primary values lies the sin or lack thereof. Thus, detachment is not so much from the sensible as such, but from a *prospatheia* toward the sensible (*CA* 1.3). Again, Saint Maximos' statement, that all of these movements of human nature can potentially "accord with nature," confirms that a potentially sinless or positive relation between the soul and the sensible realm existed before the Fall.

Further clarifying the nature of the "interweaving" of the faculties of the soul with the senses, Saint Maximos writes:

The soul . . . apprehends sensible things in a profitable way through the senses, since it has assimilated the spiritual essences that are in them, and *appropriates* the senses themselves . . . using them as intelligent vehicles of its own faculties. It joins these faculties to the virtues, and itself through the virtues to the more divine essences

<sup>33</sup>This is an expansion of *CT* 1.14.

<sup>34</sup>That is, the soul can act *independently* of the body, since it "rules" the body; the body, however, cannot act apart from the soul.

[*theiotoerois logos*] within these virtues . . . and the spiritual Mind of the more divine essences in the virtues . . . brings the soul . . . as an offering to the whole of God. And God embraces the whole of the soul, together with the body natural to it, and renders them like Him in due proportion.<sup>35</sup>

The soul, not only in prayer and the more direct means of communion with God, but also in this embodied and existential task of using the sensible faculties in a spiritually proper manner, "wisely conveys to itself everything visible in which God is hidden and proclaimed in silence."<sup>36</sup> P. Nellas rightly emphasizes that, since virtue is created or acquired through a proper use of all the human faculties, the virtues must therefore be regarded not merely as properties of the soul, but as actualized embodied states.<sup>37</sup> Through this interweaving of the soul with the senses, in which the soul embraces sensible things, and through the conjunction of this process with the soul's more direct participation in God, a person is enabled to acquire the virtues and achieve the sanctification and transformation of his entire being.<sup>38</sup>

The spiritual life, as Saint Maximos and the Greek Fathers see it, thus exists on a series of different levels. Professor P. Nellas observes that the virtues, presupposing as they do a proper and positive relationship to the world, are "pneumatohylic" states or psychosomatic functions.<sup>39</sup> In short, it is only in an embodied state that one is able to acquire the virtues. This acquisition takes place at two levels: first, that of orienting all things, including the sensible, according to a *spiritual logos* (for there is a sinful way to relate to the sensible — in fact, the way of least resistance); and second, that at which one fulfills "existentially," as it were, the spiritual "task" of purifying and perfecting the human faculties

<sup>35</sup>PG 91.1249B-C.

<sup>36</sup>PG 91.1248C. Cf. Nellas, p. 55.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Nellas, *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup>Cf. CT 1.13, 46. In *Ambigua* 1088C, Saint Maximos writes: "The whole man is deified by the grace of the God-man, remaining entirely man in soul and body by reason of his nature and becoming entirely God in soul and body by reason of grace and divine brightness of the blessed glory. . . ." See also Sherwood, *Earlier Ambigua*, pp. 130-31.

<sup>39</sup>Nellas, *Deification in Christ*, p. 56. For an excellent study of the implications of this, see C. Tsirpanlis, "Aspects of Maximian Theology of Politics, History, and the Kingdom of God," *The Patristic and Byzantine Review*, I, 1 (1982).

in embodied existence and within the context of the impinging realities of the sensible realm. And at some level, even direct participation in divine grace is possible for the human person in his various (spiritually-oriented) interactions with the sensible realm.

With regard to the directive *logoi*, they constitute the spiritual criterion or orientation that should guide an individual in interacting with the world (we might call these *existential* principles). They also witness to a certain divine immanence, or presence, within the sensible world, with which presence communion is achieved through the orientation of the human will toward God. Therefore, the *logoi* refer not only to the divine principles of things, the divine "plan" of creation, but also to the "mode" or nature of divine *immanence in the world*.<sup>40</sup> The very existence of all created things depends on the continual exercise of the divine will in maintaining that existence. And it is possible to apprehend this divine presence in the world by the *transfigured* sensible faculties of a person: "The sensible world is naturally fitted to provide the five senses with information . . . and the bodily senses . . . may be said to provide the faculties of the soul with information, since they gently activate these faculties through their own apprehension of the *logoi* of created things; and through this apprehension the divine Logos is recognized . . . by those clear-sighted enough to perceive truth."<sup>41</sup>

A proper relation to the sensible is not a spontaneous relationship, but encompasses the second level of spiritual life. And here we come to the significance of Christian *askesis* in the restoration of fallen man. Only through ascetic "self-denial" and the direction of free will toward the will of God can one carry out the task of properly bringing the sensible world into conformity with the spiritual. The transformation of the fallen senses demands a spiritual orientation toward things sensible and the use of the senses according to the divine *logoi* (principles implanted in creation):

<sup>40</sup>Cf. G. Florovsky, *Vizantiiskie Ottsy*, pp. 206-08, and *Creation and Redemption*, pp. 58-62; also, Sherwood, *Earlier Ambigua*, p. 176. The best treatment of the doctrine of the *logoi*, placing St. Maximos within the earlier Patristic tradition, is Epifanovitch, *Prepodobnyi*, pp. 49ff.

<sup>41</sup>Saint Maximos is not suggesting here that divine grace is "perceptible" in a material manner. He notes that this perception is at the same time "above perception": "He who enters [the hidden sanctuary of wisdom within the *nous*] will mystically perceive [*mystikos aisthesetai*] the spiritual knowledge which is beyond perception [*hyper aisthesin*], in which God is said to dwell" (CT 2.74).

the use of the sensible faculties primarily for *spiritual* ends and reasons. But only through ascetic practice is this orientation actualized: through a voluntary controlling of the passions. By the ascetic restructuring of the passions and reorientation of the senses, one comes to a sort of heightened reasoning, wherein the workings of divine providence within the *cosmos* are made manifest and vivid, both in the soul and in the senses.

According to Saint Maximos, it is in ascetic self-denial, that man productively restores — indeed, recreates — himself. Since the *cosmos* is divinely created and ordered by Providence, and since the divine *logoi* evidence an actual *presence* of God in the world, ascetic practices become a vehicle for communion with divine grace. The fulfillment of this creative task leads to the highest level of spiritual life and communion with God, human spiritual “creativity” properly integrating, in ascetic action, all parts of the person and all aspects of human existence in a spiritual way.

It should be abundantly clear that the spiritual or religious ideal set forth by Saint Maximos is not some Platonic idea or psychic disembodiment: a detached soul realizing its true and inherently divine nature in liberation from sensible faculties incapable of participation in the life of the “higher” soul. In Hellenistic dualism, interaction between the soul (the *nous*, in particular) and the sensible at higher levels of contemplation is not possible: the sensible faculties cannot participate in the psychical, but must remain separate from them. In Saint Maximos and the Greek Patristic tradition, however, spiritual interaction with the sensible, especially in *askesis*, is a *necessary precondition* for the acquisition of virtue and communion with God. Only within the framework of *embodied* existence are virtue and perfection acquired and the human person and psyche made whole. The entire human person is affected by the process of spiritual transformation; it embraces all human faculties, including the lower faculties of the soul.<sup>42</sup> Thus even the senses, which are “lower” in the human ontological “hierarchy,” participate in grace and become spiritually transformed. The *entire* person participates in the spiritual life and all human energies and faculties — albeit heightened or transformed by grace — are redirected toward God and toward things virtuous.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup>As in CA 2.48, 3.98.

<sup>43</sup>In CT 1.46, Saint Maximos says that “the Spirit’s immediate presence . . . completely transfigures the body and soul and deifies them. See also CT 1.13.



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*The Power of the Word in the Worshiping Church.* By John Breck. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986. Pp. 237. 7 figures. \$8.95, paper.

Father John is already well known to a wide circle of readers as the editor of *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* and also teaches New Testament and Ethics at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary. The present volume, which contains essays written between 1975 and 1983, demonstrates fully that Breck himself can be a major contributor to Orthodox theological literature. Though this book is a collection of essays and was not written as an integrated book, it nevertheless has an underlying theme, namely, the Word of God and how its expression in "Holy Scripture and the traditional creedal formulas possess an inherent power by which it communicates divine grace and truth" (p. 9). It is the author's avowed purpose to show the "'power of the Word' as the means by which saving events of the past become 'actualized' in each present moment within the life and experience of the Church" (ibid.). For this power to become operative there must come into play a "synergism" or "cooperation" between divine initiative and human receptivity. This receptivity, known patristically as *theoria*, is basically "a spiritual vision or contemplation of the divine presence and the divine economy, revealed within the framework of salvation-history" (ibid.). Father Breck believes that in contemporary Orthodoxy there has been a neglect or failure to recognize the need for the study of Scripture as it relates to doctrine, liturgy, and iconography which themselves are fundamentally vehicles of biblical revelation. He sees a need to rediscover the place of Scripture within the Orthodox consciousness as the primary source of Christian truth and life. In this regard, the tone and emphasis of his book is in keeping with the Eastern Orthodox patristic tradition.

After the Foreword, there is an Introduction on "The Sacramental Power of the Word" and six chapters on "The Hermeneutic Problem"; "The Patristic Setting for 'Theoretic' Hermeneutics"; "*Theoria*: An Orthodox Hermeneutic"; "Confessing the Faith in Liturgical Celebration"; "Trinitarian Liturgical Formulas in the New Testament"; "Confessing the *Monogenes*: The Only-Begotten Son"; and "The Word as Image: Paschal Iconography." The book contains no general bibliography and no indices of any kind. In

the search for a contemporary hermeneutic for exegesis and interpretation of the Scriptures, Father Breck returns to the patristic sources to recover the dynamic quality of the Word as the instrument of God's self-disclosure and self-communication. The first three chapters Father Breck calls Part I: "Interpreting the Word"; the last four Part II: "Living the Word" — quite apt designations.

In addition to setting the problem within the context of contemporary Protestant and Roman Catholic efforts at biblical hermeneutics, Professor Breck provides the reader with an overview of the Eastern Church Fathers' experience in scriptural interpretation and exegesis and concludes that "The Holy Spirit, as Spirit of Truth, can alone break the 'hermeneutic circle' by serving as the 'bridge' or hermeneutic link that reactualizes and renders accessible the Word of God at every moment within the ongoing life of the Church through its preaching and its liturgical celebration. As the ultimate *source*, *interpreter* and *fulfillment* of Scripture, and therefore of theology itself, the Spirit thus guides the Church 'into all the Truth,' towards its *telos*, its final consummation in the Kingdom of God" (p. 47). The theologians of Alexandria and Antioch from the third to the fifth centuries contributed immensely to the Church's understanding of Scripture, and building on that contribution, Father Breck proposes as a hermeneutic method for the contemporary Orthodox world a *theoria* based upon two fundamental propositions: (1) that Scripture is uniformly inspired by God and (2) that typology provides the key to its correct interpretation. Important for Father Breck's view is the prophetic image of salvation which was fulfilled in the person of Christ (a concept of salvation history). Put in his own words: "From the point of view of *theoria*, exegesis does indeed investigate the facts of history (including myths and statements of faith as well as persons and events). But it does so with the express aim of uncovering and laying bare the meaning of those events for the spiritual life of the believing community. Stated another way, an authentic *theoria* conceives the aim of biblical interpretation to be the spiritual enlightenment of God's people. The ultimate purpose of exegesis then is soteriological rather than scientific; and the exegete is properly a theologian rather than a historian" (p. 99). This *theoria* makes it possible for "the Christian to *discern* the soteriological meaning of an event and to *participate in it* personally and in communion with the Church as a whole" (p. 104). Such discernment

and participation are made possible by the activity of the Holy Spirit. In true patristic fashion, the true theologian and the true exegete are the praying theologian and the praying exegete. We are told in no uncertain terms that what is needed is the recovery of the contemplative aspect of *theoria*, an appropriate function for the worshipping Church.

Father Breck calls to our attention — that is, the Apostolic mind — that there was no clear distinction between confession and celebration. Scriptural statements were basically kerygmatic, affirming and defining the saving work of God the Father, the crucified and exalted Christ, and the Holy Spirit. So, “the *leitourgia* of men and the *leitourgia* of God serve a single, sublime purpose: to permit ‘the light of knowledge of the glory of God in the person of Jesus Christ’ (2 Cor 4.6) to enlighten and transfigure all of creation” (p. 184). A close examination of the *Monogenes* in detail offers Dr. Breck the opportunity to show in detail the great value of traditional Orthodox creeds and how the quasi-sacramental character of the *Monogenes* enables the confessing Church to participate existentially in the truth she proclaims” (p. 186). This latter particularly illustrates how, through the symbol of faith, a living encounter between God and humanity takes place. Father Breck shows the similarity in function of the *Monogenes* in the Liturgy of the Catechumens to that of the Nicene Creed in the Liturgy of the Faithful — each summarizes the principal message of Holy Scripture in confessional form. Finally, Father Breck focuses on the icon as sacred image in the Orthodox tradition and characterizes it as having a twofold function in the Christian community: (1) as a medium of revelation and (2) as a channel of saving grace. Paschal iconography is particularly analyzed, and the theme of salvation and eternal joy presented to mankind through the suffering on the Cross is consistent with the main theme of the salvation stressed throughout the various chapters.

*The Power of the Word in the Worshipping Church* is a major contribution to Orthodox Christian theology in which tradition and Scripture, *theoria* and worship, are brought together in a coherent and cogent way to demonstrate the essential unity between Word and Sacrament.

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inspiring things in the writings of those ecclesiastical figures considered authoritative by the non-Chalcedonian churches, the fact is that these writes are heretics and un-Orthodox by virtue of their separation from the Patristic consensus, not because of geographical circumstances or because of historical isolation. An Orthodox reader of these spiritual writers must be careful to make these kinds of distinctions, whether they correspond to the rubrics of contemporary scholarship or not.

It was a pleasure to read this excellent book. In fact, I spent a good part of one night doing so — the outcome of picking up any book that belongs to that proverbial class of things that one “cannot put aside.” Within the context of the caution which I have advised for Orthodox readers, I would highly recommend this book to scholars and those interested in the history of spiritual literature. Again, there are many elements in the lay-out and treatment of these texts that Patristic scholars in general would do well to emulate.

*Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi*  
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

*The Roman West and the Byzantine East.* Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi and Hieromonk Auxentios. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 59. \$5.50, paper.

Those who know the work of the traditionalist Bishop Chrysostomos and Hieromonk Auxentios know that their publications are incisive, concise, and to the point, and always supportive of a genuinely Orthodox Christian position. Even though portions of this volume appeared in *Orthodoxy and Papism* (1983) by Bishop Chrysostomos, that publication is now out of print and the new edition has seen revisions and amplifications. Though preserving the spirit of the late iconographer Photios Kontoglou, his article “What Orthodoxy Is and What Papism Is” is not included. The main emphasis is on making the necessary distinction between the Roman West and the Byzantine East.

Through this terse publication the authors are concerned that Christianity in the West is virtually always viewed from a Western

point of view that ignores the incontrovertible fact that Christianity arose and was spread to the West from the East; that Byzantine or Eastern Christianity is older and firmly grounded in the original Church of Christ. The separation of the two churches in 1054 intensified the differences between the two traditions.

In many ways, this small publication stresses the ways in which Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism are different and decries the negative impact that an essentially Protestant Ecumenical Movement has had on the Orthodox Church worldwide — from the Ecumenical Patriarch to local parishes. *The Roman West and the Byzantine East* reminds the reader that there are differences — critical ones — in comparing the two views. Rome has always taken a more juridical and legalistic stance, with great emphasis on the primacy and (since the nineteenth century) the infallibility of the Pope, a position erroneously based on the forged documents of the eighth or ninth century known as the “Donations of Constantine,” and on divergent Carolingian Theology of the Franks. For the East the rock “upon which the Church was built was the confession of Peter in the Christ, not on Peter himself. The Byzantines assumed that the Church is divine and history is the story of its divine manifestation. We are reminded that for the Orthodox Byzantines theologizing began with the assumption that God exists (not whether his existence can be proved). For them “God is what is and what is not; that is, He encompasses all that we are and know and all that we are not and cannot know. He is known to us in His energies . . . but He also abides in His essence. Through His energies, we can know God, both as He is made manifest in the world and within us; in His Essence, however, He can never be known, since His essence cannot be circumscribed by human thought” (p. 40). Orthodoxy stresses not so much the expiatory nature of Christ’s sacrifice as the redemptive act, “a merciful act of condescension by which God has redeemed the human from his transgression against the course which God freely offered him” (p. 45). For the Orthodox “Heaven is the final attainment of man’s proper nature, of his divinity within God” (p. 46), and “Hell is a consequence of man’s intransigence, the result of his inability to overcome the fallen human proclivity for sin and his failure to cultivate divine nature of man revealed in the example and expiatory Sacrifice of Christ” (p. 47). The Orthodox view of man and salvation grows out of a natural statement of the human condition and not a juridical one. Grace

and salvation are not mechanically dispensed, as in Roman Catholicism.

Throughout, the authoritarian side of the Papacy (the Pope as the supreme authority) is pointed out as firmly established in the Roman Catholic tradition, even though "There is simply no historical data to support such an idea" (p. 51). For the Orthodox the authority of the Church rests in its general conscience, as expressed in the synods of the Church. For the Orthodox the supreme authority is Christ himself, for he alone is Head of the Church.

The authors of *The Roman West and the Byzantine East* want to recall the attention of Orthodox readers to the principal features of their religious beliefs as distinct from Western beliefs (both Catholic and Protestant) and "In this return to the criterion of an authentic faith, Orthodox and non-Orthodox have a common task — they are joined in a unity of spirit and effort. Their common discovery, indeed, is what eventually bridges the chasm between East and West, bringing the East to what it should be and the West to what it was. In this lies for us traditional Orthodox the ultimate Christian witness of brotherhood and love" (p. 59).

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*Trinity and Society*. Leonardo Boff. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989. Pp. 236. \$26.95, cloth, \$13.95, paper.

Unlike much of liberation theology, this volume does not begin with a social analysis of the present situation, but in many respects presents a very classical patristic and biblical survey of trinitarian teachings and their sources. This author, and others have been criticized for not giving sufficient attention to the late nineteenth and early social magisterium of the Catholic Church. This volume is a substantial answer to that critique, grounding the scientific reflection on anthropology, ecclesiology and social ethic demanded of the Christian in the contemporary situation not in natural law or particular judgements, but in the very inner being of God confessed in praise and creedal affirmation.

The book surveys the classical heresies, places them in their social location as well as explicates their theological content. It



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tianismo y Sociedad” (Teologia y Liberacao in Portugese) shows the promise of a resource that will be a bench mark in the development of this young and tentative development in Christian reflection.

*Jeffrey Gros, FSC*  
Commission on Faith and Order, NCCCUSA

*The Sacrament of Love*

*The Married Saints of the Church.* By Mark Moses. Athens: Akritas, 1988. Pp. 277 (in Greek).

*Introduction*

Love is a supremely vital force in human relations. Its divine origin allows of no objectivization, no definitive systematization, no exhaustive categorization. Human love, in its genuine expression at least, can be a glorious image of divine love. Unfortunately, a great deal of our discourse on human love is tainted, not so much by wrong ideas and practices as by a dissociation of life, whereby the physical is detached from the spiritual and relegated to an inferior level. So, to come to terms with sexuality is largely a matter of recognizing that it is in itself bound by God to the deepest and most creative aspects of human nature.

Christians often express the fear that human love may lead to idolatry or to self-indulgence. This apprehension accounts for the moralism and legalism of talk on sexuality. Yet the real challenge of love is to move beyond oneself at all times towards another person. In speaking, therefore, of human love, one must recognize that life is full of people profoundly wounded in the ways of love, particularly sexual love. One may never be certain as to whether this damage could have been avoided. Instead one must always preserve a fidelity to the vision of man and woman true to themselves in their wholeness and freedom. It cannot, of course, be stressed too much that love as mere appropriation and exploitation leads to a defective understanding and appreciation of it, and to the degradation of both man and woman. One must accept the view that love and sexuality are ways of transfiguration, paths more powerful than death (Songs of Songs 8.6).

The work of an erudite Athonite monk has, in this respect, much

to address on the questions of contemporary believers regarding the relationship between marriage and monasticism, the relatively small number of married saints compared to those with monastic background, and the role of the Christian in a secularized society. Admittedly, upon noticing this publication on the shelves of our archdiocesan bookstore, my feelings were mixed: I was pleased because here was an authentic voice from a noted spiritual center of monasticism reaching the need of married people and addressing issues of vital importance in "the world." At the same time, I was sincerely curious to learn what a celibate could say to others who were married. Centuries of unbalanced spirituality and current trends of elders treating marriage as inferior could only place the reader in a defensive position. Nevertheless, I was attracted by the splendid appearance of the book, its careful structure in the form of a "synaxarion" (month by month), as well as by the helpful indices (alphabetical and general) and bibliography. Father Moses is known to the Greek-speaking readership for his extremely fine biographical study on Abbot Hieronymos of Simonpetra (published by the Holy Monastery of Simonos Petra, Mt. Athos 1982).

Father Moses, in the present "original" anthology, briefly sketches the lives of some three hundred "married saints" who, as the author notes in the introduction, may "accompany and encourage those 'struggling in the world' for the salvation of their soul" (p. 17). Notwithstanding the explicit comments of the author who explains that "almost nowhere in these lives is there any extensive paragraph praising marriage," because "the writers of these lives were mainly simple monks and their love for virginity could not easily allow them to do this" (p. 14), there are certain serious criticisms which inevitably arise from reading this book.

It is not entirely sufficient to state, by way of justification, that patristic literature — in its outlook upon marriage and monasticism — is characterized by "an admirable balance . . . by a charitable orthodox anthropology, by a symmetry based on the commandment of love." For most treatises concerning marriages were, as the author correctly notes, composed by celibates (p. 14).

Augustinian theology — so dominant in the West, but unfortunately with many supporters also in the East — first linked original sin with sexuality and marriage, implying that the return to God must be through escape from the human body and physical

relations. Yet such dangerous dichotomies were, at least in theory, quite alien to the Greek Fathers, even if many *Vitae* of saints give the impression of spiritual discipline to the point of intensified disembodiment. Now this is not the place for a theological analysis of the patristic concept of the body or of ascetic struggle in orthodox spirituality, nor is it the intention of this review to “justify” any saints of their lives. The acceptance of their sanctity, and the honorary veneration of all their relics, is taken for granted throughout. Rather, certain fundamental points — indicative less of the saints themselves than of the general trend of some orthodox today — must be underlined.

The characters presented by this anthology may, at least more or less, fall into one of seven categories:

(1) those who are parents of holy children, thereby acquiring respect only as holy *mothers* or *fathers*, not as spouses as such;

(2) those living in the *early Church* — and even then the ideal is to leave one’s family, as did Saint Peter and Saint Simon (p. 90); or else who were *martyrs* or “would-be” martyrs — Eutychia is most “unfortunate” to escape martyrdom because she was pregnant (pp. 232-234).

(3) those who were married to pagan or “unfaithful” spouses, and who “tolerated” this relationship;

(4) those who were *royalty*, and thereby often readily canonized (see for example, Constantine, p. 154).

(5) those who married *against their will*, or else whose spouse “suddenly” died. At times, this death was considered “God-sent” (p. 129) and they “rejoiced” at becoming monastics (p. 108). They are said to be “liberated” at last (Saint Floros, p. 225; and Saint Anthony, p. 216, who is particularly pleased when his father-in-law dies!).

(6) those whose marriage remained *unconsumed*, who “mixed marriage with virginity” (see Saint Gorgonia, p. 53; also Saint Kyrillos pp. 213-14). Now some of these couples would mutually agree to live as “sister and brother” (Saints Episteme and Galaktion, p. 196), but others would actually be said to “escape” (Saint Makarios, p. 182) “furtively” (Saint Gregory, p. 205). “On the very first night of his wedding,” Saint Alexios the Man of God “took off his ring” (p. 70), while Saint Anastasia constantly “feigned sickness” (p. 226) to avoid marital relations.

(7) those who *left their family* in order to become monastics.

At best, some of them led their spouse and/or children to monastic communities. This is indeed an interesting category. Some are told "from above" not to be at all concerned about their wife (Saint John p. 127). Saint Dalmatos leaves his partner even against her explicit will (pp. 133-34). At the moment when Sophronios was to enter his "nuptial chamber, he pretended to have some . . . (biological) need . . . and left for Mount Athos" (p. 140). Then there is the colorful character of Leontios (p. 218) who knows fully well that he should not leave his wife (and even recalls Scriptural evidence against such a move), yet he finally decides to do so anyway. Barlaam murders his wife, subsequently repents and leads an eremitic life (p. 197) — one would hope that his desire for monastic silence was not the cause of his wife's misfortune. Finally, we read of two holy women by the name of Theodora: one is led as a child to a monastery, re-enters "the world" to marry, and upon the demise of her husband "returns . . . to continue her severe ascetic efforts" (pp. 229-30); the other leaves for the monastery with her husband because they could not have children (pp. 234-35). Matrona was pursued by her spouse from monastery to monastery, but she always managed to elude him (p. 198).

Beyond these categories, one discovers that only a small number of saints remain, most of whose details are minimal: Juliana (p. 20), Markellos (p. 44), Aristoboulos (p. 68), David and Euphrosyne (p. 108), Martha (p. 115) — although she appears to care for everyone with the exception of her family that is totally unmentioned. Philotheos (p. 162), Philaretos (p. 211) — despite his "charitable" tendencies which were unappealing to his wife, and Philogonios (p. 225) — whose marriage is said not to have been an "obstacle" towards salvation, as if it should. Perhaps the most outstanding exception — indeed in the whole of Church history — is the family of Basil the Great (see sketches on pp. 136-37), where almost every member was included in the synaxarion.

The obvious risk for anyone undertaking such a critical review is of appearing disrespectful or even blasphemous. Yet the purpose is by no means to question the sanctity of "even the least" of these holy persons, but to point out that any systematization of the *Lives of Saints* in the final analysis reveals more about the person systematizing than about these saints. It might have proved worthier of these holy people and their spirituality had the whole exercise not been undertaken at all. Perhaps veneration in silence

would have been more suitable an honor. Now it has the credibility of a book written to describe the virtues of monasticism, using examples of those who left their orders to marry.

The bibliography at the conclusion of the book (pp. 247-49), though somewhat arbitrarily compiled, is nonetheless useful. Of particular significance are the books by P. Evdokimov, *The Sacrament of Love*, Crestwood, NY, 1985; J. Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective*, Crestwood, NY, 1984; and the works available only in Greek by Professors G. Patronos and Fathers P. Pharos, S. Kofinas and M. Kardamakis.

### *The Sacrament of Marriage*

Marriage must surely be more than a social or even an ecclesiastical institution concerned with the welfare of a family, and with its survival and continuation in a divided world. Love can never be exclusive; it is by its very nature all-inclusive. The bourgeois conception of the family as a tightly-knit, self-contained unit hardly differs from self-absorbed individualism, except that it broadens the range. From such a "marriage" everyone should "escape."

The Church does not idealize the family. It tends rather to use it as an image, a type. Through it the Church Fathers perceived a dynamic element in the family, leading to freedom, to love, to eucharistic communion. For the church, what is important is not whether this or that couple are quarrelling or not, or are in each other's arms, but whether they are capable of living an eucharistic relationship, which provides the prototype for marriage as a sacrament.

In giving marriage the status of a mystery, a sacrament, the Church shows it as a way of life and love, as a God-given reality, mediating the meeting between the eternal and the temporal. What concerns the Church is nothing less than salvation, the sanctification of every person, every relationship, everything — to the last speck of dust.

It is questionable how many today really understand this kind of language about marriage. In a consumer society it is natural for marriage to become a matter of mutual consumption. In fact, it is surprising that marriage still exercises so much fascination, despite "pre-marital sex," despite trial marriages, despite marriages of wholesale and retail convenience. But marriage can and must be defended on other grounds — "situationally, not prescrip-

tively" (in the words of an American moralist), in terms of the fact that *persons* matter, that *love* matters, that the deepest welfare of particular persons in the particular situation of marriage matters, rather than any legal codes, conveniences, ascetic tendencies and appetites. This is the reality underlying the comparison of the union in marriage to the communion between Christ and the Church (Eph 5.32), and providing marriage with the quality of a mystery.

### *The Sacrament of Love*

Love is never satisfied; it can only be fulfilled. This fulfillment is to be found in the act of giving, not in covetousness. In this sense monasticism can be seen as correlative, not as superior to marriage: it, too, is a way of fulfillment in love. What is at issue however is not just abstention from sex, not extinction of what, after all, is the most vital response to life, but a redirection to its origin, to its divine sources. This may not be easily grasped, except by the diminishing religious remnant; but at least it can be approached with a degree of respect as a unique and chosen way of life, just as one would expect the sacred and intimate relations between lovers to be respected.

Personal love pervades the experience of true monasticism. Created in the image of the Holy Trinity, the human person becomes truly personal in relation to others. This perception is as true of the monk or nun as it is of a married person. The element of withdrawal in monasticism, ostensibly negative, is no abdication of social responsibility. As a matter of historical fact, monks have even acquired, at different times and in various places, a predominant, even privileged role in the exercise of temporal as well as spiritual power. Basically, however, monasticism, just as marriage, is a sacrament of love, directed towards the fulfillment of the Gospel commandment to love God and one's neighbour. Love is greater than any ascetic feat; it is even greater than prayer.<sup>1</sup> A single vivid experience of *eros* would advance one further in spiritual life, would be more effective, than the most arduous struggle against the passions and the severest ascetic methods. Indeed the purpose of all ascetic endeavour is love.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. John Klimakos, *Ladder*, 26.43.

<sup>2</sup>Diadochos, *Gnostics Centuries*, 40.

A single flame of love burning in the world is sufficient to spark off a cosmic fire. One person burning with love in the world can bring about the reconciliation with God (Gen 18).<sup>3</sup>

*Eros*, passionate in its desire (cf. Dan 9.3 and Wis of Sol 8.20, throws light on aberrant (cf. Is 5.4, Jer 2.21) or harmful passions: they are not to be suppressed or silenced but transposed, moulded, illumined, put on their right and natural course. In the monastic context, passions are dealt with differently: they are to be transcended by the conquest of greater and divine passions. The monk makes a leap, turns all his passions towards the Deity (cf. Prov 4.27) and lays all his effort of love at the feet of Lord: "I have seen hesychasts who insatiably nourished their flaming desire for God through prayer (stillness), generating fire by fire, eros by eros, desire by desire." In this erotic course dispassion itself becomes a passion.

Since love is characteristic of human nature as created by God and since man is in a fallen state, love is at once something already granted by God and yet something for which one must strive. It is both a starting-point and an end-point. Whether a monk or a married person, one must continually struggle to become what one already is.

### *Conclusion*

At a time when people are genuinely seeking to find their relationship with God in the routine tediousness of daily life, when the family is either absolutized (to the point of stifling its members) or relativized (to the point of abusing or neglecting children), when the Church increasingly faces the need to address issues concerning women that have been tragically overlooked in the past, when idealism remains a hidden danger in every aspect of spirituality, when the unique significance and unrepeatability of each person is continually emphasised, perhaps a more positive conception of marriage could have been presented.

Yet the purpose of this review is not to outline the various "have-ups" of people concerning marriage. The book very clearly refers to an age in the past when such matters as child oblation, the submissiveness of women, the understanding of the married state as being inferior to monasticism, were taken for granted. The

<sup>3</sup> *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* 14; PG 65.165.



ultimate concern of this criticism is not social, cultural or even moral, but rather theological. The eastern Orthodox attitude towards the canonization of holy persons has never been restricted to the institutional or legal. To project examples of married saints — all of whom became holy in a particular manner — is to limit the breadth of holiness, to narrow the vision in human beings of him who alone is holy. The saints in this book share less the “crowns of holiness” or even their experience as married people, but primarily have a common “method” or way in which they live out their marital relationship and responsibility. Surely, however, there can never be one criterion — or even many criteria — for achieving sanctity in marriage. The saints are, in fact, those who *par excellence* break down all barriers and limitations: they overcome the distinction between sacred and profane, they transcend all forms of sexism and discrimination, they surpass political or national factionalism and racism.

The Church does not “produce” certain kinds of saints, nor does she prefer or recognize certain saintly paths over others. Recognition of holiness is from above and intensely personal; it is a glorification of God celebrated in every human relationship and discovered in all of God’s creation. The Church has never seen fit to promote systematically a particular group of people, to fabricate modes of sanctity. Any study, then, of saints must never lose sight of the ecclesial and spiritual dimensions that characterize all of humanity; for, according to the scriptures, we are all “called to be saints” (Rom 1.7).

*John Chryssavgis*

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## The Schism and Its Elimination in Humbert of Roman's *Opusculum Tripartitum*

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CHARLES MARK ELLIOTT

POPE GREGORY X (1271-1276) HAD BEEN SERIOUS ABOUT GAINING THE opinions of the influential minds of the Church in order to put together an agenda for the Second Council of Lyons that opened May 7, 1274. In two bulls, he called on churchmen to write reports expounding on issues facing the Church and how these might be dealt with at a general council.<sup>1</sup> First, and foremost, the pope sought to organize a crusade to recover the Holy Land from the infidel, and second, to bring about the union of the two Churches. Gill states, "Union with the Greeks, good though it was in itself, was for him more a means than an end. It would enormously facilitate a grand crusade."<sup>2</sup> Also important to Gregory was reform within the Western Church, specifically the method of selection of popes in the future, as well as the problem of disputes between the Mendicant Orders and bishops over the former's role

<sup>1</sup>The two bulls were "Salvator noster" (31 March 1272) and "Dudum super generalem" (11 March 1273). See Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*, Studies and Texts, no. 667 (Toronto, 1984), pp. 176-77; and Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1979), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 123. See also Donald M. Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons," in *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London, 1972), p. 462, Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders, and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, Studies in Ecclesiastical History, no. 13 (Oxford, 1976), p. 186; George Every, "The Empire and the Schism," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 11 (1967) 116; and Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils 325-1870* (Garden City, NJ, 1964), p. 263.

in church affairs on the parochial level. Humbert of Romans (1194?-1277), the retired Master General of the Dominican Order, responded to this papal request with his *Opusculum tripartitum*.

Humbert's report, or position paper, is divided into three parts, each one dealing with the very issues that occupied the pope's attention: the crusade against the Muslim Middle East, church reform, and the reunification of Latin and Orthodox Christianity. The latter, actually part two of the work, provides a rather unique perspective on what East/West relations in the thirteenth century could and should be. Though rather naive, if not totally unrealistic, in some of his proposals, the ideas put forth for church reunion were fairly progressive for the time. Furthermore, Humbert's discussion of the schism reflects a knowledge of not only East/West relations, but also, specifically, the recent Latin occupation of Greece. The latter, certainly a failed effort to dominate the East politically and religiously, greatly influenced his work.

In Chapter 11, Humbert addresses the cause of the schism and its perpetuation to the present. After citing the "multiplicity of relative uses" on the part of the Greeks, he moves on to make direct reference to problems experienced during the occupation. He notes,

The same demands of the Roman Church in the matter of taxes, of excommunications or of regulations, the tyrannical oppression of the Latin princes in words and acts: they treated the Greeks to misery, the dragging by the beard and multiplied affronts, as Rehoboam gave the cruelty which divided the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

While it is difficult to ascertain exactly how Humbert came to know details of the Latin occupation, it can be assumed that his comments are based on the reports of Dominican friars returning from Greece. The Order was certainly well established there by 1228; and, along with the Franciscans, exerted some influence at the court of Constantinople as well as in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>4</sup> Further,

<sup>3</sup>Hans Wolter and Henri Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II* (Paris, 1966), p. 268. This work contains extracts of Parts 2 and 3 of *Opusculum tripartitum*. Humbert says these "uses" vary from the "wearing of the beard, to the matter of the sacrament of the Eucharist, to the countenance of the ministers of the Church." The extracts used by Wolter and Holstein are from Mansi, 25, 125B-132D.

<sup>4</sup>Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches," p. 456; R. L. Wolff,

according to Gill, Pope Innocent IV, 22 March 1244, encouraged missionary efforts to be staged by the Dominicans giving them powers to do most things a bishop could, save ordinations and confirmations. Hence, given a free reign like this, the friars were able to observe the occupation on various levels.<sup>5</sup>

Humbert's reference to "the same demands of the Roman Church in the matter of taxes" could be a reference to at least two situations known to exist during the occupation. Setton notes that the Latin clerics received benefices from the hierarchy that may have exceeded those of their counterparts in the West. Of course, persons living on those lands would have to pay rent.<sup>6</sup> This would have certainly been a new phenomenon in the East, since churchmen would not be found functioning as feudal lords. Gill, referring to the *Tractus contra errores Graecorum* written around 1252 in Constantinople, says that among the causes listed for the schism was the annual charge of eighty pounds of gold levied by papal legates who brought chrism to Constantinople.<sup>7</sup>

The next clause, "of excommunications or of regulations", is an indictment of the relationship between the Holy See and the secular rulers of Frankish Greece. During the occupation, there were notable excommunications. Between 1210-1223, the Prince of Achaia and Megaskyr of Athens were excommunicated no less than three times. Generally, according to Cheetham, "... the conquerors refused to tolerate the pretensions and shortcomings of its agents [the Church hierarchy], toward whom they themselves behaved in an unscrupulous and arbitrary manner."<sup>8</sup> This discord, at least from the perspective of a person in authority such as Humbert, was hardly beneficial to the prospects of church union;

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"The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio*, 2 (1944) 213-14; and Geanakoplos, "Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders," p. 186.

<sup>5</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 81. The Dominicans were not only "invited" to evangelize the Greeks, but also the Jacobites, Nestorians, Georgians, Armenians, Maronites, and Moslems.

<sup>6</sup>Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 1: *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 143.

<sup>8</sup>Nicolas Cheetham, *Medieval Greece* (New Haven and London, 1981), p. 73. See also Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 37, 39, and 48. The excommunication of Geoffrey of Villehardouin was first levelled by Cardinal Giovanni of Colonna but later confirmed by Pope Honorius III.

for, if the Pope's own spiritual charges were not obedient to him, the Greeks would hardly be expected to accept his jurisdictional primacy.

Related to the previous clause, Humbert notes, "... the tyrannical oppression of Latin princes in words and acts; they treated the Greeks to misery, the dragging by the beard and multiplied affronts. . . ." The "tyrannical oppression" and "misery" to which Humbert refers is, evidently, linked to the imposition of the Western feudal system on Greece. Prior to the Latin conquest, there had been no vassalage, though life under the native *archontes* had been quite miserable. With the new system, the plight of the serfs certainly did not improve but merely worsened. This, of course, did not endear the new feudal lords to their underlings. (Setton refers to the *Assizes of Romania* as proof of the poor living conditions of the serfs.) The serfs were, however, usually permitted to retain possession of their own property. Barons did reserve the right to seize properties of both the laity and clergy in the event that taxes were not paid. The "dragging by the beard," also mentioned above, may be a further reference to this sort of incident. For example, one of the reasons for Geoffery of Villehardouin's excommunication was his holding of abbeys and churches, spending their revenues, and using the Greek priests as serfs.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the only reason to even mention beards here would seem to denote Eastern clerics.

Humbert completes the sentence with reference to Rehoboam, the King of Judah. The Old Testament analogy is a convenient one. Rehoboam (the Latin emperor) rules at Jerusalem (Constantinople) over Judah (the Latin Empire), which was, at one time, half of the once united Davidic Empire. 1 Kings 14.22 states, "Judah did what was wrong in the eyes of the Lord, rousing his jealous indignation by the sins they committed, beyond anything their forefathers had done." In short, the evils of the Latin Empire in Greece far outshone anything that had occurred in East/West relations before. Thus, ultimately, the prospects for church reunion were greatly dampened. Further, during Rehoboam's reign, the Egyptian pharaoh Shishak captured Jerusalem (1 Kings 14.25-28). In scripture, though the fall of the city did not bring about an end to Rehoboam's reign, the association here with

<sup>9</sup>Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 32, 40, 41, and 48.

Michael VIII Palaiologos is inviting. After all, the recovery of Constantinople did not spell an end to the Latin presence in Greek speaking lands.

In his presentation, Humbert now carries his criticism of the West a step further, but, in the end, maintains the fault of the Greeks for the actual schism. He elaborates metaphorically:

One relates this story: the epoch where the Kingdom of the Saracens was again subject to the Roman Empire, certain functions proceeded the distribution of togas to the soldiers. The Saracens then present themselves to receive togas, and the distributor said to them, "What do we have to do with these dogs?" This remark was painful to the Saracens as it made the occasion for their independence vis-à-vis the Roman Empire. It clearly appeared that the exasperation altered the Greeks to make the schism.<sup>10</sup>

Humbert shows the Greeks (Gill notes that Pachymeres says the Latins called his countrymen "white saracens") to have been a part of the Roman Empire; but it was the Western Christians, perhaps because they no longer acknowledged the Emperor at Constantinople, who severed ties with them.<sup>11</sup> After the separation occurred, the Greeks drifted into schism.

The above marks the convenient transition by Humbert to one of the major reasons, in his opinion, for the schism, namely the arrogance of the Greeks. He notes that this mentality has a historical basis in the dispersion of the Greeks after the fall of Troy. The ancients found their ways into "the Grand Kingdoms" which include those of the Romans, Franks, and English. Further, it was the Greeks who were first converted to Christianity. Thus, "... the Greeks esteem themselves superiors and pity themselves in scorn for what they had." For Humbert, this attitude had led to the Greek's blindness in matters of faith. While admitting that the *Filioque* had been added by the Latins without consulting the Greeks, it was the latter's failure to rise above their own pettiness

<sup>10</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 268. Also George Every, "Empire and Schism," p. 119, quotes the equivalent passage from another manuscript tradition. This one is not at all metaphorical, but maintains the same theme. The ending is a bit different, however, "... it is likely, that those who were under the Emperor of the Greeks began to rebel with their lord against the Roman Church, especially when they were so inclined."

<sup>11</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 148.

in refusing to even consider the Latin arguments that merited condemnation.

The "theoretical cause of the schism, according to Humbert, lies not in the transference of the Empire's power base from Rome to Constantinople, an event which both Greeks and Latins accepted, but in Charlemagne's becoming emperor." Humbert adds, "In this epoch, the chronicles say, one commences to name separately the emperors of the Greeks and those of the Latins, and the Roman Church accepted this division showing itself more favorable to the Roman emperor than to the Greek. . . ." Humbert suggests that this had been a mistake, for acknowledgement of the Eastern emperor's political hegemony brought with it recognition of the Roman Church's authority. He says, "But Emperor Phokas [602-610], to the petition of Pope Boniface ordered that the Roman Church, as it was then, be named the head of all [the Churches]."<sup>12</sup>

The circumstance to which Humbert refers was actually initiated by Pope Gregory I when, in June 602, he wrote to the newly acceded Emperor Phokas seeking, ultimately, confirmation of Rome's claim to jurisdictional primacy in Church matters over and against that of Constantinople.<sup>13</sup> It was in 607, during the pontificate of Boniface III, that Phokas prohibited the patriarch's bearing the title "ecumenical," thus affirming papal primacy. Interestingly, this incident was considered important enough to figure into a debate over primacy held at Constantinople in 1136. There, Niketas of Nikomedia, in response to Anselm of Havelburg, stated the two positions:

Thus it was that Boniface III [607], who was Roman by nationality, and the son of John, the Bishop of Rome, obtained from the Emperor Phocas confirmation of the fact that the apostolic see of Blessed Peter was the head of all the other Churches, since at that time, the Church of Constantinople was saying that it was the first see because of the

<sup>12</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 268 and Every, "Empire and Schism," p. 121.

<sup>13</sup>Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 13, Part 2: *Gregory the Great, Ephraim Syrus, Aphrahat* (Grand Rapids, 1969), p. 99. The protests in Rome were raised when the Patriarch at Constantinople adopted the title "Ecumenical." Pope Gregory says, "... we believe that the Benignity of your Piety has arrived at imperial supremacy."



transfer of the Empire.<sup>14</sup>

On this point, therefore, Humbert merely offers a restatement of an older position, though he does show it to be an important one in the Roman repertoire.

In chapter 11, Humbert continues citing reasons for the "duration of the schism." First, he notes the unresolved continuance of the causes already listed. Further, in calling to mind the quarrel existent in his day between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, Humbert says the schism has been perpetuated, in like manner, for reasons other than those that first brought it about. The next two points are interrelated: "Thirdly, their ignorance, which did not permit them to understand the response that we made to their objections"; and "Fourthly, the difference of languages, which did not permit us to address them."<sup>15</sup> Failure, or inability, to communicate on the part of both sides had led to the creation of lists of "errors" which according to Gill,

. . . witness to a complete lack of understanding and sympathy between the Churches. They do not mention any of the large number of points that each Church, convinced of its own dogmatic and ritual superiority, condemned and despised the other for its supposed shortcomings and aberrations.<sup>16</sup>

Tied to the two above mentioned reasons is the seventh which holds that ". . . in modern times they ought to be counted not only as schismatics but as manifest heretics." The reason for this again lies in failed communications. From the Latin perspective, the Greeks were indeed in heresy, for their theology was based entirely upon the Greek Fathers whose teachings ". . . they hold to pertinaciously."<sup>17</sup> Without the benefit of the correct teachings

<sup>14</sup>No. 153, "A Byzantine Moderate's View of Papal Primacy" in Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984), p. 214. See also A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1952), p. 174 and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 84. The Roman position was rejected not only because of the transference, but also because Phokas had been considered a tyrant.

<sup>15</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 269.

<sup>16</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 150-51.

<sup>17</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 269. See also Every, "Empire and Schism," p. 121 where the passage is reproduced.

of the Latin Church Fathers, the fall into "diverse heresies and errors" was a natural one.

The fifth and sixth reasons were political. First, Humbert notes the general failure of diplomatic relations. The disintegration of such ties finds its origins in the coronation of Charlemagne in 800, and can be traced through the Norman conquest of Sicily and the crusades, especially the fourth. These events destroyed anything that might have been attained through cultural interaction and traditional methods of diplomacy such as marriage.<sup>18</sup> Second, Humbert draws attention to the unique situation in Calabria where Greeks were, at least officially, in communion with Rome. Though they affirmed papal supremacy, these Greeks were often, in fact, to be found working in opposition to it. At various times they assisted both the Normans and Hohenstauffens in their struggles against the papacy and generally, according to Weiss, they constituted "a fifth column of the Byzantine Patriarchate in Latin Lands."<sup>19</sup>

In having demonstrated that the schism in fact came to exist for a number of reasons, Humbert shifts his attention, in chapter 14, to those who say that blame for it lies exclusively with the Greeks. The Greeks are certainly guilty of errors, the first of which is leaving the faith. The Latins, possessors of the fullness of the faith, have stood in the way of reconciliation by scandalizing their brother Christians — the Greeks. In an obvious reference to a long history of failed East/West relations, Humbert sees the sin perpetuated by the schism as lying heaviest with the Latins, who by their actions, had prevented church union.<sup>20</sup>

Chapter 15 continues in this same vein with Humbert arguing that, because they had the truth, the Latins are obliged to initiate a reconciliation of the Churches. In his examples, he uses allegory to show that a concerted effort to reunite Christendom was necessary in order to prevent a widening of the schism, something that most assuredly would occur otherwise. He goes on to point out that there was indeed a precedent for such action to be found

<sup>18</sup>Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, pp. 4-10. Concerning marriages, see Donald M. Nicol, "Mixed Marriage in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century," in *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations*, pp. 161-72.

<sup>19</sup>R. Weiss, "The Greek Culture of South Italy in the Later Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. 37 (London, 1951), pp. 27-29.

<sup>20</sup>Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 189.

in Acts 6 and 15.<sup>21</sup>

In Acts 6.1-6 a disagreement exists between Jewish and Greek Christians over "the daily distribution" to widows in the community. The situation was alleviated when "the Twelve" called together the entire Church which, in turn, chose seven men (deacons) to address the problem. Similarly, in Acts 15, faced with the legal question over the necessity of circumcision for Gentiles, Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem in order to settle the issue. The two incidents referred to here demonstrated to Humbert that serious matters were resolved by either church leaders or a council. In like manner, the East/West schism was a situation to be dealt with by the pope personally and his representatives.

Chapters 16 and 17 are certainly an expansion of Humbert's position, particularly with regard to the role of the pope in bringing about reconciliation. Chapter 16 hearkens back to the first nine chapters of part two in which he presents an unoriginal argument for papal supremacy.<sup>22</sup> Here, however, Humbert does offer the original idea of the pope travelling to Greece in hopes of "... retaking charge of all his flock." The idea, certainly a novel one, finds its basis in the Prodigal Son story (Luke 15.11-32), in which, the father restores the son to his position in the household after he repents. According to Humbert, the pope can make such a journey "... because he is the pastor of dispersed sheep, and that he has the right to leave others so to go to he who is in peril."<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, the success of such a venture lay ultimately in the exercise of papal supremacy, the foremost cause, in reality, for the schism's perpetuation.

Realizing that reunion would not be accomplished quickly, Humbert proposes, in chapter 17, a number of long-term projects designed to help bring the churches closer. First, he says it is necessary to learn the Greek language (as many of the Latin Fathers did in their day) and to have, on hand, an abundance of Greek

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. p. 189 and Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, pp. 269-70.

<sup>22</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 124; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, p. 187; and Every, "Empire and Schism," p. 117. According to Brett, Humbert says the Church is one and can only have a single leader — the Pope. With more than one leader, chaos would result. The one who can claim such a position is the successor of the apostles; and since Saint Peter was the first among them, Peter's successor could claim the supremacy.

<sup>23</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 270.

theological works for study. These, of course, are practical considerations and do not suggest the setting of any new trend, but an affirmation of a practice already in place. During their schooling, the friars, being committed to evangelization, were encouraged to study languages, including Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew in order to better understand the people to whom they were sent to minister, as well as their theology. Closer to the situation at hand, those mendicant friars in Greece seem to have had at least some knowledge of the language which enabled them to play important roles in the secular government there during the occupation. Humbert also comments that the Roman curia needed papal legates with a reading knowledge of Greek to translate letters sent to the former. This appears to be not only a simple recommendation, but perhaps is a criticism of members of the curia whose knowledge of this valuable theological language was noticeably lacking.<sup>24</sup>

Next, Humbert says "... it seems necessary to frequently send nuncios with solemnity, as Hezekiah sent messengers to the ten separated tribes, so they would come back to the Lord." In this reference to Chronicles 30.1-9, the messengers (nuncios) are sent among the dispersed tribes in Israel and Judah (Orthodox lands) to issue a proclamation asking that everyone return to Jerusalem in order to keep the Passover (return to full communion with the Holy See). Interestingly, in a direct reference to the Latin occupation, he says these nuncios would also spend an equal amount of time with "the Latins living in Achaia" so as to correct the wrongs there.<sup>25</sup>

Continuing on a purely practical level, Humbert suggests travel in Orthodox lands in order that a positive cross-cultural exchange might occur. By coming to know the Greeks better, the Latin's attitude toward them might be altered. In light of the occupation, therefore, this continues to be important to Humbert. On two separate occasions he echoes this same idea. In reference to 2 Samuel 10.1-5, he says, "It is necessary to receive the Greeks with honor and not despise them, as did the king of the Ammonites."; and then later on, he demands emphatically, "... that the Latins

<sup>24</sup>Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, pp. 55-56; Nicol, "The Greeks and the Union of the Churches," p. 456; Geanakoplos, "Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders," p. 196; and Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 230.

<sup>25</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 271.

cease to oppress them.”<sup>26</sup>

In order to encourage good relations at the upper echelons of society, he considers “charitable exchanges” and marriage to be effective methods of proselytization. While Humbert does not elaborate on the nature of these “exchanges” he would certainly see great potential in marriages, and reasonably so, for Nicol says that in spite of the fourth crusade, Byzantine nobles continued to enter into marriages with both Franks and Italians. Historically, such unions were not encouraged by either church, although the popes were naturally more inclined to grant dispensations if the Greek partner expressed the desire to convert.<sup>27</sup>

Humbert closes Chapter 17 by proposing that translations be made of Latin theological works so that the Greeks might benefit from them. The proposal assumes that the Greek desire to read Latin theology was as great as that of the mendicant friars to study Greek works, and this certainly was not the case. If an anti-unionist *libellus* of 1274 is any indicator, there existed a great misunderstanding of, and general disdain for, Latin theology by the Greeks. In time, Humbert’s proposal was to carry some weight as Greek scholars came to develop an interest in Scholasticism. This was something, however, that the vast bulk of society never came to accept.<sup>28</sup>

Chapter 18 restates the whole background to the schism and reasons for its perpetuation, offering nothing new. For Humbert, the schism is ultimately reducible to three discords — the empire, the faith, and obedience. The first, he says, occurred when the seat of the Empire was moved to Constantinople, only to be followed later by the coronation of Charlemagne, an event which created a rival Roman Empire in the West. Second, concerning the faith, the Greeks came to oppose the Latins because they considered the latter’s use of the *filioque*, and differences in traditions, to be heretical. Finally, with regard to obedience, the problem again goes back to the transferral of the imperial capital. Afterward, Old and New Rome were granted equal privileges. Eventually, this came to mean that the patriarch stopped obedience to the pope, and

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Nicol, “Mixed Marriages in Byzantium,” pp. 169, 171.

<sup>28</sup>Wolter and Holstein, *Lyon I et Lyon II*, p. 271; along with no. 158B, “The Libelous *Libellus* of c. 1274” and no. 159, “Barlaam Explains the Byzantine Insistence on an Ecumenical Council (1339)” in Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, pp. 219-21.

his successors were no longer approved by Rome.

Chapter 19, the last in part two, provides remedies for these three discords. Since in Humbert's mind the West had lost both Old and New Rome with the schism and the collapse of the Hohenstauffen Empire, to regain it would require either purchase of the land by a Latin prince, a submission of the Empire brought about by the marriage of an emperor and Latin princess, from whose union a Latinophrone successor would come, or else, by treaty. The likelihood of the first happening was rather remote, although it may be an indirect reference to Charles of Anjou's plans to launch an invasion. A second crusade, however, had been ruled out as an alternative by Humbert. The succession of a pro-Latin emperor was certainly a possibility, with Michael VIII being a living example. The last possibility, a treaty, would bring about some sort of political alliance whose religious implications would be minimal at best because of the Orthodox insistence on a council for reunion.

Concerning faith, Humbert is willing to tolerate the rites and practices to which the Greeks are accustomed. The statement is progressive in that not all Latin clerics were willing to grant this, though there had been a mutual reverence for each Church's liturgical practices up to the eleventh century.<sup>29</sup> Since questions of their efficacy only emerge around 1054, Humbert proposes there be a reversion to the situation existing prior to that time, when the schism was focused exclusively on the issues of the *filioque* and papal primacy.

Lastly, Humbert says it would be unnecessary to demand obedience from the Greeks if the investiture of a new patriarch was approved by the pope and if his legates were received in the East with honor. The statement is certainly contradictory, for in Western medieval thinking, obedience implied submission to papal authority. Furthermore, Humbert's proposal would be impossible to accept according to the Byzantine understanding of church/state relations because it overrides the importance of the emperor's role in the selection of a patriarch.<sup>30</sup> Prior to the schism, it was indeed

<sup>29</sup>Harry J. Magoulas, *Byzantine Christianity: Emperor, Church and the West* (Detroit, 1982), p. 104. See also no. 154, "Greek Opposition to Latin Liturgical Practices (1215)" in Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, pp. 215-16. The passage is taken from the Acts of Pope Innocent III's Fourth Lateran Council.

<sup>30</sup>No. 117, "Investiture of a Patriarch" in Geanakoplos, *Byzantium*, pp. 162-63.

proper for a new patriarch to notify the other four sees of his investiture, but Humbert's change makes this into a de facto exercise of papal supremacy.

At Lyons, religious union was to be an issue of secondary importance, as its details had been worked out beforehand by mendicant friars meeting with the emperor in Constantinople. Pope Gregory X did undoubtedly read *Opusculum tripartitum*, though its influence on him showed only in his dealings with the Greek delegation. When they arrived, he received them standing and exchanging the kiss of peace.<sup>31</sup> During the council, however, the issues raised by Humbert were not formally discussed and, afterward, the union was ultimately rejected.

Though it failed to serve the purpose first intended, Humbert of Rome's comments on the schism, and his proposals to end it, are particularly unique when one considers the manner in which they are presented. The acute sensitivity he displays toward the negative effects of the Latin occupation and previous East/West relations is quite rare for his time, as has been often noted. Certainly, Humbert's allegorical use of both Old and New Testament texts here is not haphazard, but suggests a demonstrable knowledge of scripture which the author uses well to express both his own attitudes toward the Greeks and his observations on the causes for the schism. This methodology is, therefore, noteworthy in and of itself because it works to give a special aura of authority to the overall presentation.

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The passage comes from Pseudo-Kodinos' *De Officiis*. Though the ceremony described here is from the fourteenth century, Geanakoplos says it was no different than those of earlier centuries.

<sup>31</sup>Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, p. 134 and Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 114.



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## The Soteriology of Anselm of Canterbury, An Orthodox Perspective\*

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SYMEON RODGER

IN *CHRISTUS VICTOR*, HIS VERY INFLUENTIAL SURVEY OF THE doctrine of the atonement, the Lutheran theologian, Gustaf Aulén, has criticized the well-known views of Anselm of Canterbury on a number of points. The view he refers to as the "crucial question" and which we shall now investigate, is perhaps best summarized by him when he asks rhetorically: "Does Anselm treat the atoning work of Christ as the work of God himself from start to finish?"<sup>1</sup>

### *Redemption as the Work of God or Man? — Anselm's Christology*

Aulén sees the answer to this question as an emphatic "no," and therein lies, according to him, a crucial point of divergence between Anselm and the so-called "Latin theory" of the atonement on the one hand, and the so-called "classic theory," common to the New Testament and the Fathers of the Church, on the other. As he correctly notes, Anselm's theory requires the atoning work to be carried out by a man who is free from sin and guilt and who, therefore, can offer an acceptable sacrifice to God.<sup>2</sup> As

\*Since Anselm's *Cur Deus homo?* is divided into two books of several relatively short chapters each, I have dispensed with proving page numbers for any particular edition of the work. It will be abbreviated here simply as *CDH*. Most references to the writings of the Greek Fathers are taken from Migne's *Patrologiae Graeca*.

<sup>1</sup>Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor* (London, 1983), p. 86.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* p. 87.

we shall see later, this is part of the reasoning which Anselm arrives at the necessity of the Redeemer being both God and man, the *Deus-Homo*. Yet, according to Aulén, this is not reconcilable with the classic theory as advanced, for example, by Saint Athanasios the Great or Saint Irenaios of Lyons, where "God enters into this world of sin and death that He may overcome the enemies that hold mankind in bondage, and Himself accomplish the redemptive work, for which no power but the Divine is adequate."<sup>3</sup>

While we, as Orthodox, would whole-heartedly agree with Aulén that there is a great gulf between the classic theory — common to patristic tradition from earliest times up to the present, and celebrated liturgically in the Orthodox Church — and the Latin theory, in both Anselm's version and its later formulations, it is quite apparent that Aulén has misconstrued the classic theory itself. The true nature of this misconstrued will not be fully disclosed until later, but for the moment let us correct its most obvious manifestation: Aulén has misunderstood the classic theory as implying what appears to be a thoroughly monophysite christology, rather than the thoroughly Chalcedonian one which in fact forms its basis.<sup>4</sup> In the economy of salvation, it is not possible to minimize the ontological importance of the fact that, "The Word became flesh . . . (Jn 1.14)," for it was essential for him to share in the flesh and blood of those who had fallen, precisely in order to destroy their bondage to corruption (see Heb 2.14-15). Saint Athanasios himself is quite clear on this point, for he says that the Son assumed a body in order to deify it in himself and that, if he had not put on natural human flesh, we would not have been delivered from sin and the curse (of death).<sup>5</sup> Thus, the Lord's body is not merely a vehicle for his use in this world, but it is fact inseparable from the nature of all men, and therein lies the key to salvation in the patristic view. It is very telling that the Church rejected the Apollinarian notion of the Logos the Lord's body is not merely a vehicle for his use in this world, but it is fact inseparable from the nature of all men, and therein lies the key to

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 87.

<sup>4</sup>By "monophysitic" we have in mind not the Cyrillian christology of the so-called Monophysite ("Oriental Orthodox") Churches, but a truly monophysitic christology along the lines, perhaps, of the one proposed by the Eutyches.

<sup>5</sup>Saint Athanasios the Great, "Discourse 2 against the Arians," 69-70, PG 26.293A-96C.

salvation in the patristic view. It is very telling that the Church rejected the Apollinarian notion of the Logos replacing the human soul in Christ, precisely because it compromised the full reality of the Lord's human nature. "What is not assumed," writes Saint Gregory the Theologian, "is not healed."<sup>6</sup> Likewise, even the "Monophysites" excommunicated Eutyches for the same reason. This understanding of the centrality of the humanity of Christ is preserved in the liturgy of Pascha itself: "You did make incorrupt and immortal the nature you had assumed."<sup>7</sup> And the Myrrhbearers went to anoint, "...the flesh which raised fallen Adam and now lies in the tomb."<sup>8</sup>

As a result of his monophysitic understanding of the classic theory, Aulén is, in effect, accusing Anselm of what amounts to Nestorianism, though he does not spell out the charge that clearly. He calls Anselm's notion that the union of the two natures in Christ confers on his work a greater value than it would otherwise have had, a "secondary line of thought," designed to help prove the necessity of the Incarnation.<sup>9</sup> The Incarnation, he claims, is not organically linked to the atonement in the Latin theory as it is in the classic theory, because, "they (the Fathers) show how God became incarnate that He might redeem, (while) he (Anselm) teaches a human work of satisfaction, accomplished by Christ."<sup>10</sup> The first question which this charge brings to mind, of course, is the necessity of the Incarnation in Aulén's version of the classic theory. If the human nature assumed by the Logos is in fact irrelevant to the ontological basis of salvation — the freeing of fallen nature from its bondage to sin and death — then the incarnation itself is not theologically important at all in the way the patristic tradition has understood it. Rather, there is then no reason for opposing a Eutychian or even a docetic christology.

These objections to Aulén's arguments, however, do not imply that Anselm cannot be criticized from the classical point of view, but only that Aulén has failed to understand the classic theory and that, therefore, his criticisms of Anselm on that basis are inaccurate.

<sup>6</sup>Saint Gregory the Theologian, "Epistle 101 (ad Cledonium)," PG 37.118.

<sup>7</sup>*Holy Week-Easter*, George I. Papadeas, ed. (Daytona Beach, 1981), Canon of Holy Saturday, Ode 5, pp. 379-80.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. Oikos of the Paschal Canon, p. 454.

<sup>9</sup>Aulén, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. p. 88.

Nevertheless, it must be said in Aulén's defense that it is quite understandable that the christology of Anselm's *Cur Deus homo?* should be a source of difficulty. Let us now examine it from a patristic point of view.

Anselm tends to refer to Christ as "man" (*homo*) throughout *Cur Deus homo?*. While there is no real doubt that he believed himself to be adhering to the accepted christology of the undivided Church, for he even repeats the Chalcedonian definition of "one person in two natures,"<sup>11</sup> his formulations in this area are frequently awkward or contradictory. When the Fathers referred to Christ as "man," — for example, to the fact that he "became man" (ἐνανθρωπήσαντα) in the Nicene Creed — they intended thereby to underline the reality of the human nature assumed by the Son of God, but not to attribute to that nature a hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) or personal identity independent of the uncreated hypostasis of the Logos. Anselm's language on this point is very ambiguous, for he frequently refers to "that man" as if he were a creature: he owed obedience to the Father as humanity to divinity.<sup>12</sup> God moved his will to accept death on the cross.<sup>13</sup> Anselm also speaks of the " . . . Son of God and the man whose person he took . . ."<sup>14</sup> In the latter phrase one gets the immediate impression that a complete Nestorianism, if not simple adoptionism, is what is being proposed. Frequently the difficulty lies in the ambiguous sense given to the term "man." If "man" is meant in the way that the fathers used the term, to indicate nature rather than person, then even the latter quotation can somehow, if with difficulty, be seen in the Chalcedonian sense that Anselm probably intended. Unfortunately, Anselm's tendency to refer to "that man" as the subject of the actions of the *Deus-homo* appears to show a confusion of nature and person. Only the *hypostasis* can be said to be the actor in any rational and therefore personal being, whether created or uncreated, even though the person-hypostasis cannot be separated from the nature which he hypostasizes. Thus, from a patristic point of view, Anselm's christology would almost certainly appear Nestorian, rather than Chalcedonian. Even John McIntyre in his

<sup>11</sup>CDH 1.8.

<sup>12</sup>CDH 1.9.

<sup>13</sup>CDH 1.10.

<sup>14</sup>CDH 1.17.

defense of Anselm arrives at a very similar conclusion: "in the interpretation . . . of Saint Anselm's argument, we cannot escape the conclusion that he has virtually thought of the *homo* in the *Deus homo* as offering to God the satisfaction that He requires for man's sin."<sup>15</sup> McIntyre further sees this as contradicting Anselm's main thesis, that only a *Deus-homo* can make satisfaction.<sup>16</sup>

Here, then, is the basis for Aulén's difficulty with the question of whether the atoning work belongs entirely to God or partly to man. In the classic theory, it does in fact belong partly to "man," but only if "man" is understood as the full and complete human nature hypostasized by the Logos in his incarnation, though not as a separate centre of personal existence, as the Nestorian-adoptionist tendency would have it, and as Anselm's language not infrequently seems to imply. This inability of Anselm to reconcile the divine and human natures in Christ and to differentiate the natures from the hypostasis of the Son of God shows up most clearly in his discussion of the divine and human wills in the *Deus-homo*.

In *Cur Deus homo?* 1.9-10, which McIntyre calls "... almost certainly the most obscure passage in the entire work . . .,"<sup>17</sup> Anselm attempts to relate the decision of Christ to die to the will of the Father. He begins with the idea that Christ owed obedience to the Father as humanity to divinity.<sup>18</sup> Here, the exact relationship between the human and divine wills is quite unclear. According to patristic ontology, will (θέλημα) is an energy (ἐνέργεια) of nature (usually φύσις in the christological context), and therefore each nature of Christ has its own natural energy or will. Nevertheless, the will does not act independently of the person-hypostasis, since a nature itself cannot act or even exist apart from the person who hypostasizes it and becomes the subject who wills its every action. As a consequence of this, patristic tradition would tend to say that Christ made his human will obedient to his divine will and therefore to the Father, inasmuch as his divine will is inseparable from and identical to the will of the Holy Trinity. By contrast, Anselm's formulation appears to postulate Christ's

<sup>15</sup> John McIntyre, *St. Anselm and his Critics* (Edinburgh, 1954), p. 170.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 170.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 155.

<sup>18</sup> *CDH* 1.19

humanity as an independent subject, and not merely as an independent will of the human nature.

Further on, Anselm says that Christ's "... holy will was not derived from His humanity, but from His divinity."<sup>19</sup> This is certainly true enough, but how it relates to such a passage of scripture as the one which Anselm quotes immediately — where Christ asks the Father to let this cup pass from him if possible, but that nevertheless the Father's will and not his own should be done — is very ambiguous. The mystery of patristic christology, wherein the two wills, like the two natures, are inseparable yet always distinct, does not come across in *Cur Deus homo?*. Rather, Anselm tends either to distinguish them, but then fails to relate them to each other, or he treats the *Deus homo* as if he had one will.

One consequence of all of this is that the relation of the divine will of Christ to that of the Father is quite obscure. In 1.9 he puts the following words into Christ's mouth: "(It is) as if He were to say to the Father: 'Since Thou dost not desire the reconciliation of the world to take place in any other way, in this respect I see that Thou desirest My death . . .'" From the point of view of patristic triadology, such a passage would have to be taken as implying tritheism or some form of subordinationism — at least if the Christ speaking is the *hypostasis* of the Logos. The single nature and will of the Trinity appears to be compromised as well in 1. p.10, where Anselm speaks of the Father as having moved or drawn the Son to accept death by giving him the will to do so. McIntyre notes quite rightly that, even to the very end of *Cur Deus homo?* Anselm, "... does not attempt in the slightest way to show how the will of the rational creature is integrated with or overcome by the will of the Divinitas."<sup>20</sup>

Further light is shed on all of this by the issue of whether Christ died freely or out of obedience, the central issue in Anselm's discussion of the wills in the *Deus-homo*. The question posed by Boso, Anselm's interlocutor, at the end of 1.8, implies a dichotomy between freedom and obedience: "In all these passages (of scripture, previously referred to)," he says, "it would rather appear that Christ endureth death by the constraint of obedience, than by the inclination of His own free will." Tragically, Anselm is unable to

<sup>19</sup>CDH 1.19

<sup>20</sup>McIntyre, p. 164.

provide a satisfactory answer precisely because he is unable to clarify the relationship of Christ's humanity to his divinity. And he is unable to do this because he is working from a misconception of the ontology underlying the distinction which the Fathers had drawn between person and nature seven centuries before his time. This is evident from the false dichotomy between free will and obedience presupposed by Boso, a dichotomy which Anselm tries to work around, but is finally unable to harmonize.<sup>21</sup>

In patristic tradition, freedom and obedience are seen as inseparable. The Trinity itself is a perfect communion of love, and not only of love but, we can dare to say, also of obedience. As a single nature common to a multiplicity of persons, the Trinity forms the prototype for the collective existence of man as he ought to be and as he will be in the kingdom of God. But in the Fall, man sundered the single nature he shares with his fellow beings and thereby subjected his nature to death. The divine mode of existence (τρόπος υπάρξεως) of perfect mutual love characteristic of the Trinity is also the only one natural to man, the only one which grants him communion with God and with his fellow man, and which affords him a life beyond corruption. Obedience is part of the mystery of love and humility. Those who live in mutual obedience and love, as do the persons of the Trinity, share a single nature and therefore a single will in perfect harmony. Thus, when one undertakes obedience to God and to other men, he is not merely pleasing a divine will external to his own, but is engaging in an act of an ontological order. He is refusing to break up the nature he shares with the rest of humanity, refusing to become an autonomous individual, and thereby he is refusing to do that which introduced death into his nature and which propagates it to this very day. Rather, he is allowing God to heal this broken nature and deify it in the Holy Spirit.

The discussion above has not been a parenthesis. It is really he essence of the matter. It implies that the understanding of person and nature/essence underlying the triadological formulations of the fourth century and the christological formulations of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries was built on an ontology different from and, indeed, incompatible with the one Anselm in-

<sup>21</sup>See McIntyre, pp. 156-70. Anselm attempts to circumvent Boso's argument, but is finally forced to concede part of Boso's position.

herited from the Western Augustinian tradition. He is thus using formulations from two different ontologies and is, not surprisingly, unable to relate them. In the fourth century, the Cappadocian Fathers formulated the experience of the Church by attributing ontological priority to person over nature. That is, the Father is the source of the divine essence, not the reverse. In so doing, they directly reversed the classical Greek philosophical ontology, which considered the person a mere appearance of the essence. Augustine's triadology, however, maintained a Greek essentialist ontology and this became Anselm's inheritance. In this tradition, the difficulty in differentiating person and nature, and of arriving at a theological notion of the person as both absolutely unique and at the same time in relation with other persons of the same nature, becomes very difficult indeed. This, in fact, is the root of nearly every dogmatic issue separating the Orthodox and Western Churches to this very day.<sup>22</sup>

*Salvation as a Juridical or Ontological Reality? Anselm's Soteriology*

"To the classic idea," asserts Aulén, "... it is essential that the work of Atonement which God accomplishes in Christ reflect a divine order which is wholly different from a legal order; the Atonement is not accomplished by strict fulfilment of the demands of justice, but in spite of them."<sup>23</sup> Anselm's soteriology is, then, according to Aulén, and to numerous theologians of the last century or so, consummately juridical, to the point of appearing virtually as a quantifiable financial transaction. This criticism has been leveled at him by both western and eastern Christian writers, though for rather different reasons.

To the reader of *Cur Deus homo?* it becomes apparent that Anselm has grounded his entire soteriological construct on the concept of *iustitia* (justice). Indeed, he strives to make it the "comprehensive principle of his theology of the Redemption."<sup>24</sup> Against the idea that Anselm intended *iustitia* as a completely forensic concept, some contemporary authorities on his work have convincingly argued that the term in fact derives from his Neoplatonic

<sup>22</sup>For an in-depth study of person and nature in English, see John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, 1985).

<sup>23</sup>Aulén, pp. 90-91.

<sup>24</sup>Eugene R. Fairweather, "'Iustitia Dei' as the 'Ratio' of the Incarnation," *Spicilegium Beccense* (Paris, 1954), 1, p. 329.



notion of cosmic harmony — a harmony that has its prototype in the divine nature.<sup>25</sup> *Iustitia* is, then, a cosmological category employed by Anselm to produce a metaphysical basis for God's saving work in Christ, for his contemporaries would only accept an answer to the question "Cur Deus homo?" if it were set in a metaphysical framework.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, as Robert Crouse notes, one must be cautious about attributing the connotations given to the term "justice" in later positive law to the term in its Western medieval setting, where it had theological and moral meanings as well.<sup>27</sup>

Anselm's own remarks on the meaning of *iustitia*, as found outside *Cur Deus homo?*, equates it with rightness or rectitude of will, as well as with truth itself.<sup>28</sup> That he sees this rectitude of will or the absence thereof as having cosmic implications is evident from what he says about it in *Cur Deus homo?* 1.15:

And when the (rational) being chooses what he ought, he honours God; not by bestowing anything upon Him, but because he brings himself freely under God's will and disposal, and maintains his own condition in the universe, and the beauty of the universe itself, as far as in him lies.

Thus, the idea of cosmic harmony and hierarchy, so typical of the Neoplatonic world view, in fact forms the basis of Anselm's soteriology. A. Eugene Fairweather has summarized it:

. . . since his picture of the universe of things was dominated by the vision of ontological, intellectual and moral order, grounded in the nature of God Himself, and expressed in the *rectitude* of creaturely being, thought and action, it was natural for him to approach any given problem in light of this vision.<sup>29</sup>

Thus it seems evident that Anselm understood his own soteriological position in terms of a cosmological and metaphysical

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. p. 330.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid. p. 328.

<sup>27</sup>Robert D. Crouse, "The Augustinian Background of St. Anselm's Concept of Justitia," *Canadian Journal of Theology*, 4 (1958) 112.

<sup>28</sup>St. Anselm, *De Veritate* 12.3.4.

<sup>29</sup>Fairweather, p. 330.

nature, despite its obvious preponderance of juridical language. This does not, of course, imply that his later interpreters were aware of this dimension of his thought, nor that they preserved it adequately in the life of the Western Church, but this is an issue we shall take up at the end of our investigation.

What concerns us from a patristic point of view is whether or not Anselm's theory has an adequate, that is, accurate, ontological basis. The Fathers understand the salvation of man as a fact of an ontological order, for which legal or economic metaphors could be used only with the qualifying corrective of ontological description. And it is precisely a language based on an ontology of the natures of God and man and the fact of personal communion between them that dominates the Church's understanding of the saving event as expressed in her liturgy.<sup>30</sup> With this in mind, let us now examine the main points of Anselm's theory.

Beginning at the historical beginning — the fall of Adam — we find two main points with regard to Anselm's treatment of sin and death. The first is that he regards the death of Adam and of all subsequent men as a punitive measure on God's part. The first transgression, he says, was a calumnious reproach to God's honor for which man was justly condemned to death.<sup>31</sup> On the basis of Anselm's vision of universal harmony one could attempt to put this on an ontological basis by relating God's honor to the maintenance of the very structure and hierarchy of his creation. The difficulties here, however, would be very great and it seems to us that any such attempt would necessarily end up as *eisegesis*. The very notion of punishment — and Anselm's language seems to emphasize this — implies that he who punishes equally had the option of not punishing. In other words, death was not an "automatic" result of the first transgression, an ontological consequence, but was based exclusively on divine prerogative and therefore is, properly speaking, a result of a juridical or external order.

<sup>30</sup>The themes of ransom, expiation, sacrifice, etc., are quite secondary to those of the destruction of death — the bondage of human nature to corruption, to the state of death and separation from God (Hades or Sheol) and to its author, the devil and the fallen spirits. For an explanation of the secondary place of substitutionary language in the New Testament, see Georges Florovsky, *Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, MA, 1976), pp. 282-83, n.15.

<sup>31</sup>CDH 1.22.

Patristic tradition, by contrast, sees the death to which all men are subject precisely as the ontological result of the Fall. Illustrative of this fact is the wording of Genesis itself. God did not say to Adam, "If you eat of it (the tree of the knowledge of good and evil) I shall kill you," but rather, "in the day that you eat of it, you shall die" (Gen 2.18). As Saint Maximos the Confessor explains:

The first and culpable act was the fall of the intention from good to evil: but the second, the blameless alteration of nature from incorruption to corruption, happened because of the first . . . The one took place when the intention voluntarily set aside what is good<sup>o</sup> and the other when the nature involuntarily laid aside immortality because of intention.<sup>32</sup>

Adam abandoned the communion with and in God which was the very source of his life, and so his nature fell into the "unintended" disaster of physical death. Thus, death was an inescapable result of the fall, not only as far as man was concerned, but also, in a very real sense, as far as God was concerned as well. The creation of beings in his own image and likeness, and therefore totally free, entailed a certain risk or voluntary assumption of helplessness on God's part. The Trinity will not interfere with man's free will, for otherwise the human creature would cease to be an "icon" of God. Thus, God did not prevent man's fall into corruption, but neither did he inflict it in a punitive sense. He simply allowed it to happen and, in foreknowing the Fall, provided a way of escape in the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world (Rev 13.8 and 1 Cor 10.13).

Anselm also arrives at the conclusion that if man had not sinned, he would not die.<sup>33</sup> However, he arrives at it by a vastly different route than the Fathers took, because he does not see any ontological connection between sin and death. Indeed, the chapter entirely devoted to relating the two in *Cur Deus homo?* is the shortest in the work, and that in itself is a rather significant fact. It amply illustrates that his view rests on very different premises than the patristic one, and also that an identical conclusion in doctrinal issues says nothing about the presuppositions behind it or the route

<sup>32</sup>Saint Maximos the Confessor, "Ambigua," PG 90.405C.

<sup>33</sup>CDH 2.1 and 2.2.

taken to arrive there.

On the basis of his understanding of the sin-death relationship, Anselm concludes that God ought not to subject Christ to the penalty of death because he never sinned.<sup>34</sup> Here again, the lack of ontological connection between sin and death is evident. In the patristic view, every man is subjected to corruption because he sins, distorting his own nature.<sup>35</sup> Christ, however, as completely without sin, does not have within himself the existential cause of death. About the one who exercised the dominion of death — the Devil — he is able to say before his passion, “The ruler of this world is coming and he has nothing in me” (καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν — Jn 14.30). It is for this very reason that his “deathless death”<sup>36</sup> is the impossible paradox that nullifies the grip of death on human nature. In this vein, Anselm’s failure to see the ontological relationship of sin to death prevents him from seeing the central reality of the Paschal event and the very meaning of the resurrection itself. We shall return to these later.

Here, we see the clear connection between the nature of the Fall and of the redemption in patristic theology. As the first man fell into death, so the Savior comes to free him from death. Likewise in *Cur Deus homo?*, Anselm’s view of the Fall as resulting in the punishment of the transgressor by death is logically connected to his apprehension of the Economy of the Son. We have already seen how in 1.9 he pictures Christ as saying to the Father, “Since Thou dost not desire the reconciliation of the world to take place in any other way, in this respect I see that Thou desirest my death.” He further specifies that the one who makes atonement should be one who can die (only) if he chooses,<sup>37</sup> and that he ought also to be one of the race of Adam.<sup>38</sup> In all these statements Anselm seeks to locate the reason for the God-man on a plane of argument that could accurately be called juridical, in that it is clearly based on

<sup>34</sup>CDH 1.9 and 1.10.

<sup>35</sup>The symbiotic relationship of sin and death is well illustrated by patristic commentaries on Rom 5.12. On the one hand, man dies because he sins, cutting himself off from God, the source of life. But on the other, the very fact that his nature is subject to corruption since the fall causes him to sin because of his fear of death. It is a vicious circle.

<sup>36</sup>Florovsky, p. 136.

<sup>37</sup>CDH 2.11.

<sup>38</sup>CDH 2.6,8.

a justice that is "appropriate" or "fitting." This is certainly a logical conclusion of his view of death as the fitting punishment for sin. If the ontological meaning of the fall was clear to him, however, he would have been able to place his three propositions in the realm of ontological consequence. In patristic terms, God could not have reconciled the world to himself otherwise. This is not to introduce necessity into God, but merely to point out that the structure of the created world itself necessitates that its fall into sin and corruption be remedied by the incarnation, death and resurrection of One who is both of the race of Adam by nature and who is yet free from the natural necessity of death. As we have pointed out earlier, God in his "kenotic" love for man has freely bound himself to respect the freedom of his creature and thus, in a certain sense, has *willingly* relinquished his omnipotence. Such, it would seem, is the price of creating a being in his own exalted image and likeness.<sup>39</sup>

Part of Anselm's inheritance from Augustine was the latter's theory of original sin, which Augustine derived from (or at least justified in developing because of) the Vulgate's mistranslation of Romans 5.12. According to Anselm, man must, in order to be redeemed, conquer the devil by the pain of death, while wholly avoiding sin.<sup>40</sup> However, he is unable to do so because in the fall his very nature became tainted with sin, so that now, ". . . man is conceived and born in sin."<sup>41</sup> This comes from Augustine's view, in which all men were mysteriously present in Adam and participated in his sin. The impotence of fallen man to pay the debt that he owes God is what Anselm calls *culpa* (guilt); since each one sinned in Adam therefore each is culpable for his inability to pay what he owes. Strangely enough, Anselm's use of the theory of original sin is probably as close as he comes to positing an ontological basis for the relationship of sin to human nature. The difficulty, however, is that the whole theory is based on an ontology that is virtually the opposite of the patristic one.

In the patristic view, sin is attributable only to the person-hypostasis, for the person is the irreducible subject of the nature he hypostasizes and that nature has no independent existence. Thus

<sup>39</sup>On the voluntary "kenosis" of God in creating, see Florovsky, p. 246.

<sup>40</sup>CDH 1.22.

<sup>41</sup>CDH 1.22.

it is impossible to assert that all sinned in Adam and are somehow guilty even prior to their first volitive act. As Adam's inheritance, man suffers from the curse of death and consequently the propensity to sin, a propensity so deeply rooted in his nature that he cannot avoid it.<sup>42</sup> So man before Christ was unable to free himself from the very thing which had held him captive — corruption — and its inevitable concomitant — sin. Anselm's view, like Augustine's, rests upon the perennial western confusion of person and nature, a confusion which has its origin in Augustine's triadology. Augustine retains a Greek essentialist ontology and is therefore bound to attribute ontological priority to the one essence over the three persons. From this point on in the west, there is an overwhelming tendency to locate the ontological content of both God and man in the nature, and interpret personal distinctiveness as a function of that which is common.<sup>43</sup> So once again, as in section one, in our search for the origins of divergence, we are led back to Augustinian triadology and its manifold implications.

The most obvious reason for accusing Anselm of envisaging a completely legalistic salvation is the fact that his language is full of juridical terminology. Other than *iustitia*, with which we began our analysis, the most important such terms are no doubt *debitum* (debt) and *satisfactio* (satisfaction). Both of these are what man owes to God, yet they are not quite synonymous terms.

The debt which we owe God is what we "ought" (*debere*) to do in relation to him. In *Cur Deus homo?*, Anselm puts it most succinctly as, "... all that we are and can become."<sup>44</sup> He thus considers the debt to be a total self-offering to God. But lest this definition seem too cold or abstract, his *Meditation on Human Redemption* (*Meditatio redemptionis humanae*) affords us a further explanation: what the Christian soul owes to God is thanks and love.<sup>45</sup> With this notion of debt there would not seem to be any difficulty confronting the Orthodox. It is further proof, at least, that Anselm saw his rather legalistic terminology as carrying much more than a forensic meaning.

<sup>42</sup>See footnote 36.

<sup>43</sup>Zizoulas, chap. 1 and 2.

<sup>44</sup>CDH 1.20.

<sup>45</sup>St. Anselm, "Meditation on Human Redemption," *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, trans. Benedicta Ward (Middlesex, UK, 1973), p. 235.

The concept of satisfaction differs from that of debt in that while the latter pertains to what man always owes God, as his creature — prior to the fall or afterwards — the latter constitutes the payment required by God because of the fall and is therefore something over and above the debt. Because he injured God's honor in the fall, man must make satisfaction by restoring something greater than the obligation he owes irrespective of the fall.<sup>46</sup> While earlier Latin writers, like Tertullian, had equated satisfaction with penance for sin, Anselm disengages the two terms and invests satisfaction with a new meaning in order to prove the necessity of the *Deus-homo*.<sup>47</sup> This new meaning probably owes something to the private law of his time, where one could make satisfaction with a person he had wronged by restoring to him something over and above what was initially taken.<sup>48</sup> In 1.20 Anselm develops this notion to prove to Boso that man could never have reconciled himself to God by the power of his own penance.

There are problems with this notion from the patristic perspective. The most obvious is that it presupposes a radical shift in the perception of man's central existential dilemma. For the tradition of the Fathers — and they would say of Scripture as well — man's real existential problem is death. Death, apart from being the unmitigated disaster of the disjunction of the human composite (ie. soul and body), primarily entailed a separation from the life of participation in God — the only true life. "For in death there is no remembrance of you / In the grave who will give you thanks?" (Ps 6.5). Thus unable to "keep himself alive" (Ps 22.29) because of sin, man fell into a state alien to the one in which he was meant to live eternally. Clearly by Anselm's time, much of this consciousness had been replaced by a notion that man's primary problem was obtaining forgiveness of sins. The remission, then, of the penalty of death would be a secondary issue in this perspective, since death would not be seen as having an ontological cause in sin, nor an ontological connection to human nature. Instructive in this regard is the Paschal Homily of Saint John Chrysostom, in which he says that, ". . . forgiveness has shone forth from the tomb." But then he goes on at length to speak about the destruc-

<sup>46</sup>CDH 1.21.

<sup>47</sup>See McIntyre, pp. 82-87.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. p. 76.

tion of death and Hades by Christ: "Christ is risen and life reigns. Christ is risen and not one dead remains in the grave. For Christ, being risen from the dead, has become the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (cf. 1 Cor 15.20).

The second difficulty in the patristic understanding of the economy of the Son, Christ came precisely to pay the debt we owe; that it was exactly in fulfilling our obligation to God — living a sinless life of perfect love for God and man — in his assumed human nature, that he has destroyed death by death. Saint Maximos the Confessor developed a rather involved theological scheme on this matter, the details of which need not detain us here, to demonstrate how the incarnate Logos, as the Second Adam, fulfilled exactly what the first Adam should have, but was unable to after the Fall.<sup>49</sup> The introduction, then, of something over and above the debt by Anselm is unnecessary in patristic thought. In fact, Anselm himself only needs it because he does not see the ontological connection between the debt man owed and the main factor preventing his paying it — the subjection of his nature to corruption.

The development of the concept of satisfaction in *Cur Deus homo?* rests upon his dialectical need to prove to Boso that man could not reconcile himself to God by his own powers.<sup>50</sup> Anselm poses Boso the rhetorical question of how, if he owes all that he has and is to God, even when not sinning, he expects to have something left over with which to pay the debt of sin — i.e. satisfaction — and so acquire salvation. Then, in 2. p.6, Anselm expands on this and seeks to ground it in his overall cosmological perspective. Beginning with a proposition drawn from the legal practice of his time — that the gravity of a crime varied directly with the dignity of the injured party — he postulates that the satisfaction and he who pays it must be greater in value than everything that is not God.<sup>51</sup> Since Adam committed the greatest possible offence in offending the honour of God himself, the greatest possible satisfaction, the *Deus-homo*, is necessary.<sup>52</sup>

This attempt to base the concept of satisfaction on his under-

<sup>49</sup>Saint Maximos the Confessor, "Ambigua," PG 91.1304D-13B.

<sup>50</sup>CDH 1.20. We note here that Anselm does not apply his distinction between debt and satisfaction consistently.

<sup>51</sup>McIntyre, p. 78.

<sup>52</sup>CDH 1.19.



standing of the divine honor as God's providential maintenance of the harmony and order of the creation is as close as Anselm comes to providing satisfaction with an ontological framework. As we have shown, what ontological presuppositions there are behind it are very different than those behind patristic soteriology. It seems unavoidable to reproach Anselm from treating sin in a rather quantitative way, an assumption that appears to underlie the notion that payment over and above the debt is necessary, and that the magnitude of the offence is related to the magnitude of the payment required. Some apologists for Anselm have denied that his approach to sin is a quantitative one, but their arguments seem rather unconvincing.<sup>53</sup> In any case, that is not the central point to make in comparison with the patristic view. The central point is simply that a soteriology which sees an ontological relationship between sin and death proceeds along very different lines than one which does not. According to the Fathers, what God required was not the payment of satisfaction — not even of one somehow related to cosmic harmony — but the creation of the ontological possibility of salvation within our common human nature by Christ.

At the beginning of 1.12, Anselm sheds further light on his concept of satisfaction: "To remit sin in this manner (by acting as if it had not been committed) is nothing else than not to punish; and since it is not right to cancel sin without compensation or punishment; if it be not punished, then it is passed by undischarged." This exhibits one of the central propositions of *Cur Deus homo?*: sin requires either punishment or satisfaction (aut poena, aut satisfactio). It would be unbecoming, says Anselm, for God to make no difference between the guilty and the not guilty. For, since his relations with man are governed by law, it would be completely absurd to suppose that sin is subject to no law.<sup>54</sup> These arguments are clearly of a logical and legal order. Anselm returns to the metaphysical order in his discussion of God's punishment of the unrepentant sinner in 1.15, when he asserts that if God failed to punish such a person, the disturbed harmony of the universe would not be restored.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>McIntyre, pp. 71-74.

<sup>54</sup>CDH 1.12.

<sup>55</sup>CDH 1.15. We are struck here by the similarity of Anselm's view to the Buddhist notion of *karma* which, incidentally, is based on a cosmology virtually identical to the Neoplatonic one.

From a patristic perspective, Anselm has fallen into a particularly disastrous error at this very point. He is correct in asserting that God cannot just forgive sins (in the sense of forgetting about them, which he intends here),<sup>56</sup> and that, if we may rephrase it slightly, for the unrepentant sinner to inherit the kingdom of God would violate the intrinsic order of creation, and also of the divine nature itself. What is not apparent in Anselm's view, however, is that such an event would violate the structure of human nature. The relationship between God and man in which forgiveness or punishment takes place remains, in Anselm's thought, external to man's nature and therefore on the juridical plane.

The incompatibility of Anselm's belief with that of the Fathers becomes apparent when one examines the patristic approach to the problem, which is determined by ontological realities. The God of the Fathers, whom they knew by experience, is an abyss of unimaginable love and infinite humility. The arms of the Trinity are always open to all men in total and complete forgiveness, a forgiveness which extends even to the depths of hell. There is a very strong tendency in Orthodoxy to say, as did Saint Isaak the Syrian, for example, that the same love of God which is the bliss of the saints is experienced by the unrepentant as an intolerable torment, an unbearable fury.<sup>57</sup> It is thus the sinner who damns himself, strictly speaking, rather than Christ the Judge, who always desires the salvation of the sinner, but is "unable," to violate his free will.<sup>58</sup>

By asserting that God cannot just forgive sins, Anselm is forced by his own rather juridical outlook to separate two attributes of God, his mercy and justice, and to reconcile them by attributing priority to the latter over the former. Had he been able to see the ontological basis of sin, the dilemma of "either punishment or satisfaction" would have revealed itself as the pseudo-dilemma it really is. However, Anselm necessarily ends up characterizing God as the "supreme justice,"<sup>59</sup> and despite the cosmological connections of *iustitia*, this

<sup>56</sup>McIntyre, p. 107.

<sup>57</sup>See "Treatise 37" of Saint Isaak the Syrian in *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh* (Wiesbaden, 1969), trans. J. Wensick: "Also I say that even those who are scourged in Hell are tormented with the scourgings of love. . . . Love works with its force in a double way. It tortures those who have sinned. . . . And it gives delight to those who have kept its decrees."

<sup>58</sup>Florovsky, p. 257.

<sup>59</sup>*CDH* 1.13.

justice bears an unavoidable similarity to the retributive justice of fallen man. His language inevitably suggests that God's attitude towards the sinner changes. According to the patristic view, God's action is ever the same, but our spiritual state determines how we experience it. Over the centuries, the Orthodox tradition has gone to great lengths to maintain the truth that the justice of God has nothing to do with the so-called justice of fallen man. As Saint Isaak the Syrian insists:

Mercy and justice in one soul is like a man who worships God and idols in one house. Mercy is opposed to justice. Justice is the equality of the even scale, for it gives to each as he deserves . . . Mercy, on the other hand, is sorrow and pity stirred up by goodness and it compassionately inclines a man in the direction of all. . . . If, therefore, it is evident that mercy belongs to the portion of righteousness, then justice belongs to the portion of wickedness. As a grain of sand cannot counterbalance a great quantity of gold, so in comparison God's use of justice cannot counterbalance his mercy.<sup>60</sup>

It is clear then that mercy and the justice of this world are mutually exclusive, so that we cannot apply the term "justice" in this sense to God.

We now proceed to the final, but perhaps most crucial theme of this section; how the salvation accomplished by Christ is communicated to all men. According to Anselm, the life of the *Deus-homo*, far surpasses in its goodness all the sins of the world and therefore cannot fail to pay for them all.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the death of the God-man possesses an infinite value or merit in God's sight, deserving of an equal reward. However, Christ himself had no need of reward, since all things belonging to the Father were also his in any event. As a result, the reward accruing from his death has been applied to man, for whose sake he died.<sup>62</sup>

Anselm's theory of redemption has no similarity to the patristic explanation. This becomes clear if we examine the Paschal liturgy of the Church, which summarizes the teachings of the Fathers. Despite the odd reference to Christ in sacrificial terminology,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup>Saint Isaak the Syrian, "Treatises 51."

<sup>61</sup>CDH 2.14.

<sup>62</sup>CDH 2.19.

<sup>63</sup>*Holy Week-Easter*, Paschal Canon, Ode 4 and Paschal Verses.

this is clearly not a theory of "vicarious or representative satisfaction."<sup>64</sup> Its whole intent is to show how the death and resurrection of Christ have freed human nature from its bondage to death. He "clothed what is mortal in the robe of immortality,"<sup>65</sup> so that we are all "thus liberated by kinship of the flesh . . .," as Saint Athanasios puts it.<sup>66</sup> The death of Christ was in itself neither a payment in the literal sense, nor a reality to be considered apart from the resurrection. It was rather the means of which Christ descended to the lowest state of man's separation from God to free those in its grip:

Hades rules the race of mortal men, but not eternally; for when Thou wast placed in the grave, O Powerful One, Thou didst tear asunder the bars of death by Thy life-creating hand and didst proclaim true deliverance to those sleeping there from the ages, since Thou, O Saviour, hast become the first-born of the dead.<sup>67</sup>

The resurrection actualizes the triumph over death and opens the ontological possibility of the general resurrection at the end of the age. But the divine Economy does not end with Christ's resurrection, for by ascending in his resurrected humanity to the Father, Christ brought it into the very life of God, thus making it possible for man once more to receive the Holy Spirit. "It is to your advantage that I go away," said the resurrected Lord to his disciples, "for if I do not go away, the Comforter will by no means come to you (Jn 16.7)" In the Old Testament, man was enslaved to corruption and was unable to receive the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, without whose presence he is not authentically human at all.<sup>68</sup> Christ alludes to the difference in the Spirit's presence among men in the two covenants in John 14.17; "You," he says to his disciples, "know him, for he dwells with you and will be in you (ὅτι παρ' ὑμῶν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῶν ἔσται)."

To summarize the above, we can say that the whole thrust of the patristic tradition has not been to construct a theory of the

<sup>64</sup>This is McIntyre's description of Anselm's theory, p. 172.

<sup>65</sup>*Holy Week-Easter*, Paschal Canon, Irmos of Ode 7.

<sup>66</sup>Saint Athanasios, PG 26. 293A-96C.

<sup>67</sup>*Holy Week-Easter*, Canon of Holy Saturday, Ode 7.

<sup>68</sup>Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, (Crestwood, 1976), p. 172.

redemption but to render explicit the ontological realities behind it. Theories are only necessary when these are forgotten. There is no doubt that Anselm saw his own view of satisfaction and reward as congruent with his cosmology. Unfortunately, the connection is not elaborated, with the result being that in *Cur Deus homo?* the reward accruing to Christ's death and attributed to man has no ontological basis. Rather, the reward has the character of a legal justification, kindly attributed by God to man, but having no intrinsic connection to the structure of man's being. Surprisingly though, in his *Meditation on Human Redemption*, Anselm comes somewhat closer to a patristic perspective:

Thus in Him (Christ), human nature gave to God something it had of its own, willingly and not because it was owed. So through Him human nature might be redeemed in the other men who had not got that which would pay the debt that they owed.<sup>69</sup>

In the meditation, there is considerably more emphasis on the victory over death than in *Cur Deus homo?*. However, the essential features of the latter work's theory are so present. It is as if the patristic elements are surviving remnants of a view that has slipped from consciousness, a view whose theological implications Anselm remains completely unaware of.

As something of an addendum to this section, a few comments are in order on the idea of the devil's rights over man and Christ's deception of Satan on the cross. Anselm himself refutes the notion that after the Fall the devil acquired from God the right of ownership over man. The devil, he says, is unjust in tormenting man, although man is justly tormented by him.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, any notion that the ransom paid by Christ on the cross was paid to the devil as some kind of financial transaction has no place in the Anselmian theory.<sup>71</sup> God owes the devil nothing but punishment, according to Anselm.<sup>72</sup> In this assertion, he is perfectly in line with patristic tradition. Aulén, however, believing the classic theory to

<sup>69</sup>Saint Anselm, "Meditation on Human Redemption," p. 233.

<sup>70</sup>CDH 1.7.

<sup>71</sup>In the Orthodox view, it is probably best to say that the ransom was paid to our fallen condition.

<sup>72</sup>CDH 1.7.

posit a ransom to the devil, accuses Anselm of an innovation.<sup>73</sup> Several of Anselm's critics have apparently shared this view. As McIntyre puts it: "In 1.17 the rights of the devil over man are investigated and the traditional view which had held sway for eleven centuries is refuted."<sup>74</sup>

Actually, the origin of this confusion may be in part Aulén's misinterpretation of *The Great Catechism* of Saint Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory speaks of man as having sold himself to the devil. In order to get him back, God must pay whatever price the new owner will accept. The first important point to notice is that man sells himself. God does not sell him. By this metaphor, Gregory means to indicate that Adam's transgression necessarily led to man's subjection to death and to him who exercises the dominion of death (see Heb 2.14). He is not positing a legal or economic theory. The proof comes when he links the ransom to the deception of the devil. The price the latter will accept is the human flesh of Christ, for it makes him seem like a desirable victim by concealing his divinity.<sup>75</sup>

St. Gregory's use of the ransom idea in this way is not, therefore, unorthodox, though it seems to be quite unique. The idea of a legal ransom was not unknown even in his time, but was invariably repudiated by the Church. As his friend Gregory the Theologian put it:

If (the ransom is paid) to the Evil One, then how insulting this is! The thief receives the price of ransom; he not only receives it from God, but even receives God Himself. . . . If to the Father, then first, in what way? Were we in captivity under Him? And secondly, for what reason? . . . It is evident that the Father accepted (the sacrifice of Christ) not because He demanded or had need, but by economy and because man had to be sanctified by the humanity of God.<sup>76</sup>

As a result, such a view also has no support in the liturgy of the Church. The deception of the devil, of course, does, and is an integral aspect of Christ's destroying death. Says Saint John Chrysostom in his Paschal Homily: "It (Hades) took a body and met God face to face. It took earth and encountered heaven. It took

<sup>73</sup>Aulén, 88-89.

<sup>74</sup>McIntyre, p. 61.

<sup>75</sup>Saint Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45.60C-64A.

<sup>76</sup>Saint Gregory the Theologian, "Oratio 45," PG 36.653A-B.

that which was seen and fell upon the unseen.”<sup>77</sup>

It should be made clear, therefore, that Aulén and others have seriously misrepresented the classic theory on this point.

### *Conclusion*

If we can force ourselves to remember that our original task was not merely to enumerate an Orthodox perspective on Anselm's soteriology, but to evaluate Aulén's criticisms thereof, we shall summarize our findings. Aulén is certainly to be applauded simply for recognizing that the soteriology of the early Church was something quite different from the medieval Latin view which Anselm typifies and which, in one form or another, has come to monopolize Western Christianity. As we have shown, though, many of his criticisms of Anselm's view are in fact inaccurate because he himself seriously misunderstood the classic theory on several points. The most striking thing, however, is not his particular misinterpretations taken on their own — such as his belief that the classic theory implies a monophysitic christology, for example — but that Aulén himself failed totally to detect the ontological categories on which the patristic view rests. And thus, his critique of Anselm is flawed for precisely the same reason that Anselm's theory itself is flawed. In this respect, however, Aulén is rather typical of western critics of Anselm, in that he is able to detect aspects of his soteriology that are not adequate to the mystery of salvation, yet is unable to offer a viable alternative. Even those astute enough to see that Anselm's failure to elaborate the internal relationship of sin to death have not been able to draw out the implications that such an elaboration would entail.<sup>78</sup>

Yet they are quite correct in one sense. Anselm's failure to relate sin and death by discerning the true ontological relationship between them throws his whole soteriology off in a different direction than that of the first centuries of the undivided Church and than all subsequent patristic tradition. The lack of ontological basis, as it is understood in patristic tradition, confronts the reader of *Cur Deus homo?* at every turn; in Anselm's view of death as divine retribution, the reasoning he uses to arrive at the necessity of the *Deus homo*, the nature of the satisfaction to be made by him, and

<sup>77</sup>*Holy Week-Easter*, pp. 481-82.

<sup>78</sup>McIntyre, p. 174.

how his death on the cross opens the possibility of salvation to man. Where there are obvious ontological presuppositions, such as in the areas of christology and, even in his generally Augustinian view of original sin, it is at once clear that Anselm's inherited ontology is quite different from that of patristic tradition. In fact it is reasonably certain that Anselm's ontology stems from Saint Augustine's triadology, with which he was thoroughly familiar.

As we stated at the outset, we are in agreement with such authorities on Anselm's work as Fairweather and Crouse in their belief that Anselm presupposed a metaphysical basis for the *Cur Deus homo?* stemming from a Neoplatonic cosmology of universal harmony and hierarchical order. As we have seen, though this metaphysical framework does not yet constitute a sufficient understanding of the ontology of our salvation in Christ, nor is it clear how Anselm saw his cosmological considerations relating to the apparently external and juridical character he attributes to the relationship between God and man. Thus, in comparison with the view of the Fathers, it is almost unavoidable to read Anselm as extremely legalistic, even if one admits the importance of the cosmological background to his use of legal or quasi-legal terminology. Anyone wishing to exonerate Anselm on this point will have to show how the two are related in *Cur Deus homo?* without reading into the work connections which its author never intended.

It is evident that the metaphysical basis of Anselm's terminology disappeared very quickly in the enthusiastic appropriation of his work, and this is hardly surprising, given that it is such a minor theme, and that it is not well integrated into the work as a whole. Typical of the use that has been made of *Cur Deus homo?* in defining the teachings of the western confessions is J. Rivi  re's summary of the official teaching of the Roman Church as of 1909.<sup>79</sup> The completely legalistic soteriology he describes is almost entirely derivable from Anselm, but has not even the hint of the larger frame of reference evident in *Cur Deus homo?* itself. To the Orthodox, the teaching Rivi  re presents appears dangerous and heretical. It pictures God's relationship to man as entirely legal in character and thus leads its adherents into at least two dangerous deviations. The first is construing God as a legalistic supreme being who saves

<sup>79</sup>J. Rivi  re, *The Doctrine of the Atonement: A Historical Essay* (London, 1909), 1, pp. 1-17.



or damns on a legalistic basis — on this score there is little separating the medieval Roman Catholic from those Evangelical Protestants who believe that confessing Jesus as Lord constitutes automatic salvation, while not doing so confers with equal certainty the opposite result. Both these mentalities are rationalizations of the mystery of God and of the salvation he has worked in Christ. The second deviation is that a wrong view of salvation leads to wrong assumptions about what is necessary to appropriate it. On the one hand, Anselm himself clearly believed that asceticism was a necessary element in one's quest for salvation, and would never have approved of the modern western disregard for it. On the other, his whole soteriology undercuts the theological basis of asceticism. If salvation consists in a real change in human nature, in man's mode of existence, then a redirection of man's whole existential orientation through ascetical endeavour is clearly necessary — and all Christians held this view for the first several centuries. If, however, salvation is not ontologically related to man's bondage to sin and death, then the exact basis for asceticism ceases to be a deeply felt reality and, eventually, its practice disappears.

An elaboration of all the consequences of a soteriology along the lines of the one presented in *Cur Deus homo?* would require a large work in itself. Suffice to note, however, that the divergent soteriologies of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic/Protestant Churches have as yet received scant attention in our "ecumenical" endeavours, despite the indisputable importance of the issues involved. A great deal of prayer and reflection will eventually be required in this area.

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and a lack of attention to their deficits and limitations. This is neither fruitful nor actually Patristic. I would advise the reader to approach this book with caution, setting aside the aura of awe that some have attached to the late Father Alexander, who was a theologian who worked with brilliance within the body of Patristic data, but who unfortunately often compromised these tools with an all-too-renovationist concept of certain areas of theological and historical concern — something boldly obvious in this text. By such statements I would not wish in any way to denigrate Father Alexander's remarkable achievements or contributions to Orthodox thought, but simply to put them in proper context.

This book is well worth reading.

*Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi*  
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

*The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life.* Introduced and translated by Sebastian Brock. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987. Pp. xliii + 363. Apparatus and Indices. \$50.00, cloth. \$19.95, paper.

The translator of this volume, who has also supplied us with an extensive introductory commentary on the so-called Syriac Fathers and the "Church of the East," or the non-Chalcedonian Eastern Christian communities, is a lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac at Oxford University. The texts are drawn from little-known Syrian sources — some unpublished — that have, for the most part, never appeared in a European language. As such, they are fascinating pieces of historical data that should command the attention of anyone interested in Eastern Christianity and, most certainly, of those with an interest in the Christianity of a geographical area that can rightly be called the birthplace of much of our Christian liturgical, monastic, and spiritual tradition — both Eastern and Western.

I have no abilities at all in Semitic languages, so I cannot comment on the loyalty of the texts in this book to the original materials. However, others with such abilities have commented favorably on the translation, and the credentials of the translator are such that one must have trust in his facility with the original. Certainly the

English flows well, and the use of the precise ecclesiastical language of Eastern Christianity (“Mystery” instead of “Sacrament,” “elder” for “old man,” etc.) is something that other translators would do well to imitate. At least in the introductory statements, we are not assaulted with the rather ugly habit of talking about “Isaac” or “Basil;” allusions to saints and spiritual figures are respectful and consistent with the spirit in which any Patristic study should be done. Moreover, there seems to be no slavish commitment to the often effete concerns of the philologist in this translation, but an attempt to present a readable, intelligible rendering of the material. I might note that prayers directed to God are rendered in the second person plural, setting aside the familiar. This is unfortunate, since, paradoxically enough, the familiar gives a formality to such expressions that is highly desirable, in my mind, at a time when Patristic scholarship often leads toward the snide (“punk Patristics,” as I call it, asking immediate forgiveness for this offensive expression) at the cost of the objective — though such sophomoric traits are nowhere to be found in this volume.

The apparatus and the indices in this book are superb. I spent some time cross-referencing material, searching out certain personal scholarly concerns in the various texts, and simply checking the citations and references for accuracy. I can only conclude that the translation, the obviously careful treatment of the manuscript materials and traditions, and the historical research incidental to the translation project represent the best of scholarship — enviable scholarship, in short.

The introduction to this book, as I noted above, touches on the issue of the complexity of Syrian Christianity — a Christian tradition that contributed to Hellenic Christianity, which was itself influenced both by Hellenic and Latin Christianity, but which fell into isolation after the fifth century and the schism occasioned by the Chalcedonian Christological controversy. This complexity is reflected by the fact that the writings of the great Church Father Saint Isaac the Syrian — indeed, heretofore unpublished fragments — are set side by side with the writings of religious thinkers who are, in the exactitude of canonical expression, “heretics:” purveyors of a non-Chalcedonian Christology. Herein lies a problem which Orthodox readers, at least, should address in reading this book.

First, if we proceed with the axiom *ex pede Herculem*, it would

indeed be easy to attribute to all of these writings an excellence which I, as an Orthodox reader, find primarily in the texts of the pre- and non-Chalcedonian writers in the volume. It is, of course, vogue to imagine that the Christological controversies were essentially matters of verbiage and the result of individuals talking "past" one another. It may also one day become vogue to speak of the nineteenth-century debate over germ theory as an exercise in meaningless exchanges of ideas and preconceptions. However, a theologian who imagines that the Christological controversy of Chalcedon was of no consequence is as safe as the surgeon who undertakes surgery with the notion that septicity is an issue of idle speculation. In fact, one can clearly see the effects of a distorted Christology in the writings of the non-Chalcedonian Syriac Fathers in this volume. The imitation of Christ takes on a pious, profound, and compelling character in these writers, but it lacks the existential depth which one finds, for example, in the hesychastic forerunners of St. Gregory Palamas in the *Philokalia*. For, to be sure, Christian imitation elevated to the Christian participation in divinity afforded through *theosis* rests squarely on the Chalcedonian Christological underpinnings of hesychastic anthropology. The germ of heresy, whether contemporary scholarly etiquette allows the comment or not, contaminates the spirituality of the non-Chalcedonians. I would advise an Orthodox Christian to approach these readings with this affirmation in mind and to find, in his study of these texts, rich justification for my words.

Second, for the Orthodox reader Christianity is not a multipartite body of Latin, Hellenic, and Syriac traditions. For Greek Orthodox Christians, the artificial distinctions between Greek Orthodoxy, Latin Catholicism, and the Church of the East that the translator of this book puts forth in his introduction are misleading. The universality of Christian "orthodoxy" is for us expressed precisely in the consensual thought of Hellenic, Latin, and Near Eastern Christianity as that thought was articulated and protected by the canonical and theological pronouncements of the Ecumenical Synods (Councils), including Chalcedon. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example, is not a writer to be defended and justified because some of his comments may (emphasize "may") have been wrongly judged by his opponents, but because his spiritual life, as much as his Christology, placed him outside the *phronema ton Pateron*. By the same token, while we can find many orthodox and

inspiring things in the writings of those ecclesiastical figures considered authoritative by the non-Chalcedonian churches, the fact is that these writes are heretics and un-Orthodox by virtue of their separation from the Patristic consensus, not because of geographical circumstances or because of historical isolation. An Orthodox reader of these spiritual writers must be careful to make these kinds of distinctions, whether they correspond to the rubrics of contemporary scholarship or not.

It was a pleasure to read this excellent book. In fact, I spent a good part of one night doing so — the outcome of picking up any book that belongs to that proverbial class of things that one “cannot put aside.” Within the context of the caution which I have advised for Orthodox readers, I would highly recommend this book to scholars and those interested in the history of spiritual literature. Again, there are many elements in the lay-out and treatment of these texts that Patristic scholars in general would do well to emulate.

*Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi*  
Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

*The Roman West and the Byzantine East.* Bishop Chrysostomos of Oreoi and Hieromonk Auxentios. Etna, California: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1988. Pp. 59. \$5.50, paper.

Those who know the work of the traditionalist Bishop Chrysostomos and Hieromonk Auxentios know that their publications are incisive, concise, and to the point, and always supportive of a genuinely Orthodox Christian position. Even though portions of this volume appeared in *Orthodoxy and Papism* (1983) by Bishop Chrysostomos, that publication is now out of print and the new edition has seen revisions and amplifications. Though preserving the spirit of the late iconographer Photios Kontoglou, his article “What Orthodoxy Is and What Papism Is” is not included. The main emphasis is on making the necessary distinction between the Roman West and the Byzantine East.

Through this terse publication the authors are concerned that Christianity in the West is virtually always viewed from a Western

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*The Wheat of Christ.* By Dimitry Mishetsky. Seattle, Washington: St. Nectarios Press, 1988. Pp. vii + 28. Illustrated with Line Drawings by Yelena Gaponova. \$3.00, paper.

*The Contest of the Holy Martyr Dorothy and with Her Christina, Callista and Theophilus.* Translated from the Russian. Revised Edition. Seattle, Washington: St. Nectarios Press, 1988. Illustrated with Line Drawings by Myroslava Ponomarchuk. Pp. 6 + 16. \$2.50, paper.

Publications about and by Christian saints and martyrs have become increasingly sought after, both by the faithful and by researchers looking for original sources by which to understand the development of early Christianity more accurately. St. Nectarios Press has striven to fill a much felt need in this area.

The latest booklets by the St. Nectarios Press feature *The Wheat of Christ*, a series of poems on Saint Ignatius of Antioch (December 20), Saint Thais (October 8), Saint Panteleimon (July 27), Saint Dorothy (February 6), and Saint Adrian (August 26), entitled respectively "The Wheat of Christ"; "The Change"; "Panteleimon"; "The Answer"; and "Real Power." Written by a Russian emigré, self-taught in English in the refugee camps of Germany by using an English Bible, Dimitry Mishetsky came to the United States where he worked selling insurance and served as secretary and translator for Bishop Andrei of the Russian Orthodox Convent of Novo Diveyevo in Spring Valley, New York, and where he also wrote in his adopted tongue verses that expressed "the treasures of the Faith he so beautifully expressed in Russian poetry" (p. v). He had an abiding love for the saints, which is readily apparent in the present collection, an intense love for God which he saw in their particular struggles to preserve their faith.

Saint Dorothy suffered martyrdom under the Roman Emperor Diocletian on February 6, 303, according to tradition. Her *Life* was preserved in Latin from which it was translated into Russian in the collection of St. Dimitry of Rostov. It is from that collection that it was translated into English. Described is the martyrdom of Dorothy, the sisters Christina and Callista, and the Roman centurion Theophilus at the hands of the governor Sapricius. Saint Dorothy proclaims that it is "Christ, the Son of God" alone for whom she is willing to die, and explains to Sapricius that "In the



omnipotence of His Godhead He is everywhere, in His human nature we confess Him as being in heaven and sitting at the right hand of His Father. He is one Godhead with God the Father and with the Holy Spirit. It is He who calls us to the paradise of eternal joy . . .” (pp. 4-5). It is He who is “our merciful and skilled physician”; “Savior, because He saves all”; “Redeemer, because He redeems all”; “Deliverer, because He gives freedom to all”; “Invisible Being, Giving and Giver of all life”; and “the Truth” as contrasted to the idols (pp. 6-15).

Both *The Wheat of Christ* and *The Contest of the Holy Martyr Dorothy* elucidate the role and function of the martyred saints in the history of the Christian Church and their significance for the faithful today.

John E. Rexine  
Colgate University

*Doors of Perception: Icons and Their Spiritual Significance* with an Appendix by Richard Temple. By John Baggeley. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988. Pp. xii (including map) + 160 (including 18 plates). \$37.50, hardbound; \$12.95, paper.

*Doors of Perception* is an introduction to Orthodox Christian iconography by an Anglican who has developed an appreciation and love of Orthodox icons. John Baggeley has been vicar of St. Peter’s, De Beauvoir Town, Hackney, London, and is presently Team Rector of the Bicester Team of Parishes in Oxfordshire. He indicates that his “book is written from within the Western Christian tradition, and primarily with Western Christian readers in mind. It is intended to foster the interest in icons that already exists among many Western Christians, and to take that interest beyond the level of merely looking at religious pictures” (pp. 3-4). But what he has to say will be of use to Orthodox readers and viewers as well because he has the vantage point of the interested and educated observer, especially when he indicates that “icons form a door into the divine realm, a meeting point of divine grace and human need; moreover, they are also a way by which we enter more deeply into our own interior life. And that journey, that exploration is aided by considering the icons from the different standpoint of history, theology, imagery and spirituality” (p. 4).

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## Theodoret, Bishop of Kyros as an Exegete of Isaiah 1: A Translation of His Commentary, with an Introduction

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ANTON C. VRAME

WHILE IT IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THEODORET OF KYROS (CA 393-ca 466) was a fellow student of Theodore of Mopsuestia with Nestorios and John of Antioch, we know with certainty that Theodoret was involved with the Nestorian controversy of the fifth century. Most students of Church history will remember him for his dogmatic writings against what he saw as the Apollinarianism of Cyril of Alexandria. These books against the Synod of Ephesos (431) and Cyril's anathemas of Nestorios<sup>1</sup> were condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Synod (553) as part of the Three Chapters. What is not remembered was his activity as a pastor in his see. Building aqueducts and canals to provide a water supply to the city is but one example. He was also a prolific writer, not just of dogmatic works but historical and apologetical, as well as sermons and letters. His extant works fill four volumes of Migne, most of which are commentaries on the Bible.<sup>2</sup> It is one of these works that I wish to deal with here, his commentary on Isaiah, chapter one in

<sup>1</sup> His *Pentalogium* written after the Council exists only in fragments. The other is *Refutation of the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius*, PG 76.385-452.

<sup>2</sup> These are: *Questions on Octateuchem* MG 80.75-527, covering the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth; *Questions on Kings and Chronicles* MG 80.527-858; *On Psalms* MG 80.857-1998, covering the entire Psalter; *Song of Songs* MG 81.27-214; *Daniel* MG 81.155-1546; *Ezekiel* MG 81.807-1256; *Twelve Minor Prophets* MG 81.1545-1988; *Isaiah* MG 81.215-494 also (*Sources chrétiennes* 276, 295, 315); *Jeremiah* MG 81.495-806; *Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul* MG 82.35-878.

particular.

### *Theodoret's Approach to Scripture*

The first question that must be asked concerns the text used by Theodoret. At first glance it seems safe to state that, like most writers and Christians of his day, he used the Septuagint. However, this statement must be qualified by specifying which Septuagint. The School of Antioch, of which Theodoret was a leading member, utilized a third century recension of the Septuagint done by Lucian. Theodoret used this variation of the Septuagint. According to Ashby this text represents a stage of development between the Vaticanus text and the Vulgate.<sup>3</sup> In the text of Isaiah 1, the evidence for the use of this text is in verse 4b, which the RSV translates as, "They are utterly estranged." In the Septuagint used by most people today, and the one used for the translation of Theodoret's commentary, this verse is not present.

Theodoret also consulted parallel translations of the day. From the translation of chapter one it is possible to see how he consulted the work of Symmachos (lines<sup>4</sup> 118, 154, 402), Theodotion (line 402), and Aquilas (line 403).

As to Scripture itself, Theodoret sees it as divinely inspired. However, the author is not a passive secretary, but rather, an active participant in the process. As Theodoret states in the commentary, "For just as the eyes of the body see and behold well what is placed before them, so too the eyes of the mind illumined by God's spirit see and behold that which is not present as if it were present" (lines 32-36). Theodoret is so conscious of this that he uses what can only be a deliberate literary device of correcting himself to get his point across. He corrects that natural inclination to write "Isaiah states . . ." to "Isaiah, or rather, God through him . . ." or words to that effect.<sup>5</sup>

### *Theodoret's Methodology*

As an Antiochene, Theodoret was a proponent of the literal method of exegesis. However, he sought to strike a balance between

<sup>3</sup> G. W. Ashby, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus as Exegete of the Old Testament* (Grahamstown, South Africa, 1972), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Line numbers refer to the translation.

<sup>5</sup> See lines 52, 102, 250-51, 266, 272-73.

the excessive literalism of Theodore of Mopsuestia and the excessive allegorization of the Alexandrian School, notably Origen. To strike this balance Theodoret insisted that exegesis remain tied to the text. The term used by the Antiochenes is "theoria," which means the "sublime meaning which must be based on the literal meaning, that is, it must arise naturally and logically out of the plain sense of the passage concerned."<sup>6</sup> To eliminate this historical, literal "rootedness" or grasp on the text in the exegesis would be to begin allegorizing the text. The practice of this methodology can be seen in the commentary, where he states that he will not comment extensively on passages with obvious meanings. However on those where he feels that Isaiah spoke figuratively, he will comment more fully (lines 22-27).

It is possible to see how this attempt at balance fared in his comments on chapter one. Three examples are prominent. In verses 2-4, the text describes the stupidity of Israel towards God. Theodoret sees this, but he also sees a nation that rejected Jesus Christ, "the incarnate one" (line 121). In verse 7 he sees the destruction of the cities perpetrated by the Babylonians, but extends this to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. Finally, Theodoret explains verses 16-18 ("Wash you, be clean") in terms of Christian baptism. But this is the furthest he seems willingly to go with his use of theoria. What it achieves though is the development of typologies in the Old Testament, of which these samples exemplify.

#### *Theodoret's Commentary in Light of Contemporary Exegesis*

It would be unfair to attempt a point by point, verse by verse comparison of Theodoret's commentary to contemporary commentaries of Isaiah 1 for the simple reason that the modern writers have more data available. To begin with, they have use of a Hebrew text, which Theodoret did not have, and the Qumran manuscripts. They also have the other archaeological finds to confirm and refute the dates, places, and times for the events of Isaiah's prophecy. Finally, they also look at the biblical text in a far different manner than the Christian writers of the Patristic era. The modern commentaries clearly have their strengths and weaknesses, just as Theodoret has his strengths and weaknesses. Nevertheless, there are differences and similarities which can be pointed out between

<sup>6</sup> Ashby, p. 21.

Theodoret and contemporary exegetes, providing that the context of Theodoret's comments can be understood and appreciated.

The first major differences have already been alluded to above. Theodoret treats Scripture as a sacred text, revealing God's truth to humanity. His Christocentrism is also an obvious difference. While maintaining his strong grasp on the text, where it is textually appropriate, Theodoret looks intently for Christ. The contemporary commentaries reviewed for this paper are not as intent upon finding Christ or treating Isaiah as sacred, although this does not mean they are not Christian nor believers in Scripture.

A final obvious difference, which is probably the cause of the above, is that Theodoret is writing as a bishop of the Church. He writes in and for the Church. He is not writing for the academic community of his day. He is writing, ultimately, as a pastor with a flock. This ecclesial framework shapes his understanding and exegesis of the text. His exegesis explains the text, but the life of the Church is also explained through it. For example, his comments on verse 16, as it being a call to baptism, and his reference to Pentecost and the tongues of fire in his exegesis of verses 25-26 point to this ecclesial consciousness.

As to the exegetical issues presented by chapter one as a whole, Theodoret differs substantially from contemporary exegesis.<sup>7</sup> Two issues are raised that Theodoret does not address. The first is the introductory nature of chapter 1. As Oswalt states, chapter 1 "introduces the introduction." Of chapter 2.<sup>8</sup> Clements concurs and goes one step further addressing the impact of this introduction:<sup>9</sup>

By the addition of such an introduction the book as a whole has been given a permanent and timeless relevance, extending the significance of prophecies which were originally addressed to specific

<sup>7</sup> In this paper four modern commentaries will be considered: R. B. Y. Scott *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* in the Interpreter's Bible (NY, 1956); John D. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* in the Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, TX, 1985); John Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* in the New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, 1986); and R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39* in the New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, 1987). These four commentaries, I believe, provide an interesting spectrum for examining Theodoret.

<sup>8</sup> Oswalt, p. 81.

<sup>9</sup> Clements, p. 28.

historical situations into a larger context.

Theodoret does not express this in his exegesis and so it seems fair to assume that he was not aware of the nature of the chapter. However, we cannot discount the opinion underlying his exegesis. By his use of *theoria* and typologies he has in effect considered the text from a "timeless" viewpoint. His moves back and forth in time, from the history of Israel to his own historical era, creating a timeless quality about the oracle. See for example his exegesis of 1.7, 1.9, 1.19-20 and 1.26b.

A second difference is the form of the chapter. There appears to be a consensus that chapter one is arranged as a lawsuit, particularly verses 2-3.<sup>10</sup> The use of Deuteronomy 32.1 is pointed out as evidence. Watts is exceptionally detailed in his identification of the parties involved: verse 2a calls the witnesses, 2b announces the chief litigant, 2c-3 pronounces the charges against the accused, Israel, named in 3c.<sup>11</sup> Theodoret, while he uses language that would be considered "legal," e.g. testimony, accusation, and he too, points out Deuteronomy 32.1, he does not consider chapter one to be a lawsuit against Israel.

As stated earlier, a verse by verse comparison between the commentaries of Theodoret and modern writers will not be made. However, in three areas of Isaiah 1, there are substantial points of convergence and points of departure between the commentaries that I wish to briefly highlight for the reader.

The first arises in the exegesis of verses 5-9. Contemporary writers have sought to identify the historical period that Isaiah was speaking about. Theodoret also posits a historical event, but incorrectly. (What he does which is unique is to add a second historical event for consideration — the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. This comes out of his typological method.) The contemporary writers correct Theodoret's explanation that Isaiah was speaking of the Babylonian captivity. They assert that the reference is to the Assyrian invasion of Sennacherib in 701. Theodoret's misunderstanding can be explained from a lack of data.

However, the point of genuine departure is to be found in the

<sup>10</sup>Scott does not explicitly call the chapter a lawsuit, but in his commentary he uses the language of law, e.g., indictment, accusation, and judgement.

<sup>11</sup>Watts, p. 15.

cause of the invasion. The commentaries examined view the invasion as a result of the sin of Israel — their rebellion of verses 2-3. The invasion is God's punishment against Israel, through the Assyrians.<sup>12</sup> Theodoret, on the other hand, even though he mistakenly identifies the invaders, adds to the purpose of the invasion, "I have inflicted all kinds of them (punishment) and the sick ones remain incurable" (lines 147-48). For Theodoret, the purpose of the invasion was to bring Israel back into fellowship with God.

Verse 15 poses the second issue. The modern writers and Theodoret appear to be in general agreement regarding the place of sacrificial worship. Ritual "perfection" does not hide moral imperfection. The point of departure, however, is with the words "for your hands are full of blood." The modern exegetes go beyond a literal understanding of the text. It is not the blood of the sacrificed animals that they see,<sup>13</sup> but actual crimes against humanity. Scott offers an apt comparison:<sup>14</sup>

Not only the sacrifices and festivals of cultic worship but prayer itself is rejected, for the hands stretched out toward heaven are covered with blood. The trouble is that, unlike Lady Macbeth, the temple worshippers are not conscious of their condition.

For whose murder are they guilty then? Oswalt raises this as a legitimate question.<sup>15</sup> Clements responds that it is a general crime; the Israelites have "brought suffering and misery to many."<sup>16</sup> Theodoret, boldly, answers the question very specifically. "For the worst of all the impiety and lawlessness was the fury against the Lord" (lines 308-09). His christocentric approach and his use of *theoria* allow him to see this. The Israelites' hands are covered with the blood of Jesus Christ.

The final point to be raised concerns verses 16-20. This section is important because here Theodoret is the most unique of the commentaries. He does not deal with the passage of washing

<sup>12</sup>See Oswalt, p. 89; Clements, p. 31; Scott, p. 168; Watts, p.18.

<sup>13</sup>Watts is an exception in this case, seeing only the blood of the sacrifice, p. 21.

<sup>14</sup>Scott, p. 173.

<sup>15</sup>Oswalt, p. 98.

<sup>16</sup>Clements, p. 33.



in "Judaic" terms. We can presume that he was very aware of Jewish practices regarding ritual washing, which the passage would seem to address, as well as the moral perfection which should follow. The modern writers explain it this way. Theodoret uniquely interprets this section in the language of the Christian sacrament of baptism. Theodoret's ecclesial consciousness shows here most clearly. He writes, "Cleanse your souls in the bath of regeneration,"<sup>17</sup> — λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, terminology which is still used in the Orthodox rite of baptism today. This entire section is filled with sacramental baptismal language.

The purpose here was not to evaluate Theodoret's commentary verse by verse, with the modern writers. Rather it has been to illustrate points of convergence and points of departure between them. Generally, while Theodoret did involve himself with the issues that modern exegesis involves itself, the word studies, the textual variants, etc.; he is in agreement with them on the basic understanding of Isaiah 1. Rather, perhaps it is better to state that modern exegesis has not altered the fundamental understanding of Isaiah 1 from that of Theodoret's, except where the modern writers have the advantage of possessing more data, e.g., the historical references.

The points of divergence appear when Theodoret applies the Antiochene methodology of *theoria*. A christological and ecclesiological understanding of Isaiah 1 emerges in this methodology. To put it in terms that Theodoret himself would understand, the modern commentaries explain what they see in the text. Theodoret explains this as well, but also sees what the eyes do not see in the text. What Theodoret sees that the modern commentaries do not see is Jesus Christ and the Church. This christological and ecclesiological consciousness is what distinguishes Theodoret's commentary from contemporary exegesis.

<sup>17</sup>See lines 319-20.

# Theodoret, Bishop of Kyros

## Commentary on Chapter 1 of Isaiah<sup>1</sup>

### *Subject of the Prophecies of Isaiah*

5 All the inspired prophets compiled not only the events of Israel, but were also inspired to foretell the salvation of the nations. They foretold the Lord's manifestation. Indeed of all of them, the divine Isaiah's prediction was believed. For he clearly prophesized all: the coming forth from Abraham and David and the birth of the Savior from a virgin and the plethora of miracles; the source of healing; and the rejection and rage of the Jews; the passion and death; the resurrection from the dead; the ascension into the heavens; the selection of the Apostles; the salvation of all the nations. He even prophesized the second coming of our God and Savior to them. He prophesized the dispersion of the Jews and the complete desolation of the Temple, and the military campaigns of the Assyrians and the Romans against them. He prophesized the return from Babylon and the destruction of the Babylonians. He prophesized events about Tyre and Damascus, also the Moabites, Ammonites and Idumenes, and he made many others to them. However, he mourned in advance the final ruin of the Jews, the penalty that was demanded of them for their folly against the Master.

15 In the writings of the prophet there are passages which are clear, having an obvious meaning, whereas there are others which are figurative (τροπικῶς) and require interpretation. In the first case I am tempted to speak concisely and in the second to go through the text more fully. I will restrain myself to remain as brief as possible.

### Isaiah Chapter 1<sup>2</sup>

#### **1.1 The vision which Isaiah the son of Amos saw,**

<sup>1</sup>This is a translation from the original Greek as found in *Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 276, pp. 142-86. The parallel Migne text is PG 81.215-36. The *Sources Chrétiennes* text contains material not found in Migne.

<sup>2</sup>The text of Isaiah 1 is presented in bold type. In this translation, the Old Testament used is that of the English translation of the Septuagint (Zondervan Publishers); the New Testament used is RSV. Because of this there is an unevenness in the biblical passages.

30 which he saw against Juda and against Jerusalem, in the reign of Ozias, and Joatham, and Achaz, and Eze-  
kias, who reigned over Judea.

A vision is called the foreknowledge of future events. For just as the eyes of the body see and behold well what is placed before them, so too the eyes of the mind illumined by God's  
35 spirit see and behold that which is not present as if it were present. In this way he says to have seen something foreboding against Judah and against Jerusalem. He calls Jerusalem the capital and Judah the cities and towns which are subject to her. He indicates the era of prophecy being in the age of  
40 the Kings. For he begins with Uzziah and continues on to Hezekiah.

## 1.2 Hear, O heaven, and hearken, O earth: for the Lord has spoken, saying,

This is the testimony which the great Moses called upon.  
45 For you have heard, "*My testimonies will bring down heaven and earth*" (Dt 31.28). Thus he began the testimony: "*Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak: and let the earth hear the words of my mouth*" (Dt 32.1). He uses another in addition, "*for I have called upon the name of the Lord*" (Dt 32.3).  
50 It witnesses to the people and to all others and threatens all kinds of punishment to those who violate the Law. So then, the prophet Jeremiah, or rather God through him, spoke against the impiety of the people with these words, "*The heaven is amazed at this, and is very exceedingly horror-struck, saith the Lord*" (Jer 2.12). Of these words, he recalls  
55 after the end of things, the words of the God of all through the mouth of the prophet: "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord has spoken." For it is not the fallen man speaking, but God through him. He calls both heaven  
60 and earth as a witness, not as a living thing, but as containing all visible creation and upon its permanence. We find even Jacob and Laban had made a pile of stones and called it a memorial, but they brought together the stones as evidence of the grace. Since the stones were not animate, the  
65 true memorial was in their faith in the Ruler of all. Thus he called upon these great signs as a witness. And the actions confirmed the words: for when the Jews nailed the Savior

to the cross, the earth shook violently as it recalled the testimony. The heaven, being unable from above to give men this sensation, displayed the sun traveling in it, yet depriving them of its rays, producing darkness as a witness against their impiety.

**1.2b I have begotten and reared up children but they have rebelled against me.**

For I have not only brought them into existence, but I made them worthy of every care, and showed them all sorts of consideration. However, they had become ungrateful towards their Benefactor. Naturally, when one is accusing them of ingratitude, one calls on heaven and earth to one's behalf, for from heaven and earth they gathered all sorts of benefits. For heaven above provided them with manna, "*He commanded the clouds from above and opened all the doors of heaven and rained upon them manna to eat and gave them the bread of heaven*" (Ps 77.23-24). And the earth offered them water in the desert according to their need. In Palestine the earth offered them an abundance of all kinds of fruits. They were the first to participate in the distinction of adoption, and therefore he gives them the name of the first born son, "*My son Israel is my first born*" (Ex 4.22). However, none of them was convinced to adopt an attitude of thanksgiving. Thus, comparing them to the irrational he makes their senselessness apparent:

**1.3 The ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel does not know me, and the people has not regarded me.**

These animals, being of mind and reason, graciously recognize from whom they receive their food and care, and are well disposed towards their provider. The ox knows its master and it hastens at the sound of its voice, likewise, the ass runs into its accustomed stall. But these who drew from the well of good things did not want to recognize the Provider of their "streams" of good things. Thus, through Jeremiah, he compares them (Israel) with birds, showing their senselessness. He says "*the sparrows observe the times of their coming in, but this my people knows not the judgements*

of the Lord” (Jer 8.7).<sup>3</sup> I marvel at the depth of the goodness of the Lord’s love of humanity for he does not simply call them “people” but he uses the pronoun, “my.” For while the ungrateful people did not say “My God,” God, the lover  
 110 of humanity says, “My people.”

And the rest of the passage shows his indescribable mercy: he composes lamentations for those who did not wish to be saved, lamentations for those whom he loved, not for those he hated.

115 **1.4 Ah, sinful nation, a people full of sins, an evil seed, lawless children: ye have forsaken the Lord and provoked the Holy One of Israel.**

Symmachos interpreted this more clearly, “They forsake the Lord, they disparage the Holy One.” For they did not  
 120 only abandon the Creator to offer worship to idols that which was due to God, but they disparaged and traded the incarnate one who came to accomplish the salvation of all humanity. For this reason they called him “a deceiver” and “possessed by demons” and “Samaritan.” The ones who mocked  
 125 him said, “*Ha! you would destroy the temple and in three days raise it up, come down from the Cross*” (Mt 27.40). Even though he calls them a “wicked generation” he does not insult their forefathers, but denounces their wickedness. The same way John the Baptist calls them a “brood of vipers,”  
 130 Lord also calls them a wicked generation and adulterers. For they did not protect the excellence of their forefathers.

Then God appears to imitate someone who is angry at another, and thus talks to himself and to the other (the one who he is angry at), and says, “**They are utterly**  
 135 **estranged.**”<sup>4</sup> That is, having forsaken me they went to the enemies. This is why he says in another place, “*They have turned their backs against me and not their faces*” (Jer 2.27).

<sup>3</sup>This reference to Jer 8.7 is both a direct quote by Theodoret and a paraphrase of the verse. I have chosen to provide the full text of Jeremiah.

<sup>4</sup>This is the phrase not in the Septuagint as stated in the Introduction. Because the Antiochene School used the third century recension of the LXX by Lucian, I can only presume that this is a variation of the Lucian text. For the translation of the verse, I have chosen here to quote the RSV text.

**1.5-6a Why should ye be smitten anymore, transgressing more and more? The whole head is pained and the whole heart sad. From the feet to the head, there is no soundness in them.**

He calls the kings and rulers the head, the teachers and priests the heart. Because just as the heart is to the body, the priests and teachers are to the people. Likewise, just as the head is to the body, the kings and rulers are to the subjects. He laments their insensitivity saying, "What punishment can I yet inflict?" I have inflicted all kinds of them and the sick ones remain incurable. For the illness has infected all of your members, head, heart and feet. Because of this I prohibit your salvation.

**1.6b neither wound nor bruise nor festering ulcer are healed; it is not possible to apply a plaster, nor oil, nor bandages.**

Symmachos renders this passage more clearly, "There is no health in them, but wound, bruise and the mark of the strike, not even a bandage, not even soothing oil." The excess of the wounds, he says, conquers the strength of the remedy.

And because he asks, "What, again, are you struck, you who accumulate transgressions?" he enumerates the forms of the penalty:

**1.7 Your land is desolate, your cities burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is made desolate, overthrown by strange nations.**

This is the list of the misfortunes which he inflicted on you and for which you do not wish to fully grasp the cause. These misfortunes of theirs arrived when Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Babylonians, reigned and conquered you, just as their final destruction came after the crucifixion of the Savior, which the Roman emperors executed upon them. And we see, even today, foreign nations dwelling in their cities and occupying their land. These he speaks about Judah, before he foretells of the desolation of the city.

**1.8 The daughter of Zion shall be deserted as a tent**

175 **in a vineyard, and as a storehouse of fruits in a garden  
of cucumbers, as a besieged city.**

He names Jerusalem “the daughter of Zion.” For just as he calls the men “sons of men” and the prophets “sons of the prophets,” thus he calls her “daughter of Jerusalem”  
180 and “daughter of Zion.” She blossomed in the past, when the vineyard had ripe fruit, but when the vineyard was harvested, it became a desert, like a tent in a vineyard. When she was blossoming the farmers fortified the vines with fences and stone walls. While the vineyard was filled with fruit they  
185 pitched high tents and sat guarding the fruit. But after they gathered the fruit they took down the tent and left the vineyard unprotected.

The same happened to the vineyard Israel. As long as it had the promised blessing among the nations, she was the  
190 recipient of all care and attention. But when she was harvested and when the people who believed in her were taken away, she was deprived of the fences. The Temple was deprived of her guardians and the beautiful temple was left in the condition that it is in today for all those who come to see.

195 **1.9 And if the Lord of Sabaoth had not left us a seed,  
we should have been as Sodom and we should have  
been made like Gomorrah.**

When God rained fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, none of the inhabitants were saved. Only Lot did not experience  
200 the destruction, having no relation to them. Out of the many thousands of Israelites who were saved, the generals and emperors of Rome waged war against them; they burned the cities, killed the majority of the inhabitants, and enslaved the survivors. For the Lord foretold to the Holy Apostles and  
205 to those who believed in him, cautioning them to procure their salvation. For he says, “*But when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, they know that its desolation has come near*” (Lk 20.21), and “*then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains; let him who is on the housetop not go down*  
210 *to take what is in his house*” (Mt 24.16-17). Those who had believed in the Lord, through faith received the benefit of salvation, and through this generation, God announced the blessings to the nations, he did not allow the memory of the

Jews to blot out the comparison of Sodom and Gomorrah.

**215 1.10 Hear the word of the Lord princes of Sodom, attend the law of God people of Gomorrah.**

Even though they did not receive a penalty equal to that of the Sodomites, he did not acquit this generation and they received the designation "people of Sodom and Gomorrah."

- 220 While they held in high esteem their descent from the roots of Abraham, they did not imitate the faith of Abraham, and justifiably they were cast out of the family of Abraham. In this way the inspired John the Baptist cried out, "*You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?*"
- 225 *Bear fruit that befits repentance and do not presume to say to yourselves 'We have Abraham as our father,' for I tell you, God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham*" (Mt 3.7-9). Likewise, God prescribed the prophet Ezekiel to say, "*Your origin and your birth are of the land*"
- 230 *of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite*" (Ezek 16.3). And he names Sodom "her sister." Being imitators of their iniquity, you correctly received the title.

**1.11a "What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices?"**  
**235s the Lord.**

- From this we learn directly that God made the law for them to offer these sacrifices not because they gave him pleasure, but because he completely understood their weakness. For being reared in Egypt they had learned to sacrifice
- 240 to idols and they wanted to profit from this education. Desiring to lead them away from their error, God allowed sacrifices and musical instruments, overlooking their weakness and their childish diversions.

- However, after many years he prohibited altogether the
- 245 lawful worship. For he says,

**1.11b-12a "I am full of whole burnt offerings of rams and I delight not in the fat of lambs and the blood of goats: neither shall ye come with these to appear before me;**

- 250 The prophet, through these words, or rather, God speak-



ing through him, rejects their sacrifices for their offenses and their sins and their sacrifices of consecration and whole-burnt offerings. For they would offer blood and fat, and kidneys and the lobe of a liver, sometimes burning them completely.

255 Then he clearly shows the superfluousness of the sacrifices. **1.12b for who has required these things at your hands?** Because of you he tolerated them, for he has no need of them. **You shall no more tread in my court. Because the Romans destroyed the Holy Temple, he pronounced**

260 **this law to them — making access impossible.**

**1.13 Though you bring fine flour it is vain; incense is an abomination to me.**

See the types of sacrifices. And out of necessity he recalled these, because of the shamelessness of the Jews, he could not say, "Even this you do not desire to offer us, that which heals." Thus in a later place he says through the prophet, "*Thou hast not brought me the sheep of thy whole-burnt offerings; neither hast thou glorified me with thy sacrifices. I have not caused thee to serve with sacrifices, neither have*

270 *I wearied thee frankincense. Neither hast thou purchased for me victims for silver, neither have I desired the fat of thy sacrifices; but thou didst stand before me in thy sins, and in thine iniquities*" (Is 43.23-24). And through the inspired David: "*I will take no bullocks out of thine house, nor he*

275 *goats out of thy flocks. For all the wild beasts of the thicket are mine, the cattle on the mountains, and oxen. I know all the birds of the sky; and the beauty of the field is mine. If I should be hungry, I will not tell thee; for the world is mine and the fulness of it. Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?*" (Ps 49.9-13). And teaching about what is desired, "*Offer to God the sacrifice of praise,*" (Ps 49.14) and "*The sacrifice of praise will glorify me*" (Ps 49.23). And the blessed David says to him, "*Sacrifice and offering thou would not want . . . whole burnt offering for sin you did not*

285 *require*" (Ps 39.6).

**1.13b-14 I cannot bear your new moons, and your sabbaths, and the great day; (14) your fasting, and rest from work, your new moons also, and your feasts my**

soul hates.

- 290 Behold the well known feasts that he rejected: Passover, Sabbath, the Feast of Tabernacles, and in addition the Feast of Trumpets and the Feast of Atonement. He names as great feasts these important days, including the fast of the Day of Atonement. And generally he says that he has hated every  
295 feast and every Sabbath. He indicates the reason:

**1.14b You have become loathesome to me; I will no more pardon your sins.**

He says I have had my fill of you and I turn away from your sinful excess.

- 300 **1.15 When ye stretch forth your hands, I will turn away mine eyes from you: and though ye make many supplications, I will not hearken to you; for your hands are full of blood.**

- Showing all this, and the abrogation of the Law, and the  
305 destruction of the Temple, he teaches them the form of the sin for which they suffered all kinds of punishment. He accuses them not just of idol worship nor even adultery and covetousness, but of bloodguiltiness. For the worst of all the impiety and lawlessness was the fury against the Lord. For  
310 it was their voice, "*His blood be on us and on our children*" (Mt 27.25). This blood of this old generation deprived them of their inheritance, this blood has left them aliens in the world. However being the lover of humanity, he showed them the way of salvation:

- 315 **1.16 Wash you be clean.** So that they would not think that the Law merely recommended these "sprinklings," he made it a necessity. **Remove your iniquities from your souls before mine eyes;** I know your secret thoughts, none of your wicked desires escape my knowledge. Cleanse your souls  
320 in the bath of regeneration. **Cease from your iniquities;** It is not enough to reject the earlier actions, it is necessary to put away their performance.

**1.17 Learn to do well.** The renunciation of evil is not enough to attain perfection, but it is necessary to commence

325 doing the following good things: **Diligently seek judgement, deliver him that is suffering wrong, plead for the orphan, and obtain justice for the widow. 1.18 And come let us reason together saith the Lord.**

For as if they had not heard the judgements: he promises  
 330 to bestow blessings. **1.18b and though your sins be as purple, I will make them white as snow; and though they be as scarlet, I will make them white as wool.** When I summon you to the tribunal I will not be the judge of your foolishness. But when I see your repentance I will  
 335 imitate the dyers of cloth and in the bath of the most holy baptism, I will change the color of the blood. I will not allow you to bear the mark of bloodguiltiness forever. For my science is extraordinary. Whereas the dyers make the cloth pink, yellow, violet and red, I, by baptizing, make that which  
 340 is red become white. Then he promises to give them the pleasure of the good things present in life surrounding them:

**1.19 And if ye be willing, and hearken to me, ye shall eat the good of the land.** But he threatens anyone who is disobedient. **1.20 But if ye be not willing; nor hearken**  
 345 **to me, a sword shall devour you;** And the prophet, in order to teach them that these words are not his but those of the God of all, says, **1.20b for the mouth of the Lord has spoken this.** It is this love for humanity that the Lord cried out to those who nailed him to the cross, "*Father forgive*  
 350 *them for they know not what they do*" (Lk 23.34). So then after the cross, the death, the resurrection, the ascension into the heavens, the arrival of the Holy Spirit and the extraordinary miracles of the Apostles — after that he deemed worthy those who believed in the expected salvation. Of those believers  
 355 came the three thousand and the five thousand who were "caught" by the company of the first apostles. From those came the many myriads who the Divine James pointed out to the inspired Paul. From those came the blessed Paul, who drove out the flock of the Lord like a wild beast. But having  
 360 become worthy of the divine call he suffered with pleasure what he had done with pleasure. So then, the Lord deemed worthy of salvation all those according to his own promise,

but the others were handed over to the sword, also according to the prophecy.

**365 1.21 How has the faithful city Sion once full of judgement, become a harlot! wherein righteousness lodged, but now murderers.**

Because he saw their resistance and disobedience, no one coming forth to be purified and obtain salvation, he laments and mourns their change for the worse. For they had faith, when the kings were David, Josaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah, who ruled her piously. But they became prostitutes and unjust; the inhabitants of the land had become murderers. When the Bridegroom became present, they did not accept him but  
375 savagely killed him and were stained with blood.

**1.22 Your silver is worthless, thy wine merchants mix the wine with water.**

He does not accuse the merchants or the money changers, but the priests and teachers of corrupting the holy law and  
380 mixing in their personal dogmas. For in the holy Evangelists, the Lord makes the accusation, "*Why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition?*" (Mt 15.3). For if someone mixes gold or silver with another substance it is adulterated and made worthless. Also when  
385 someone mixes wine with water it destroys the quality of the wine. Likewise the teachers of the Jews corrupted the holy law, attaching to it personal opinions and invented traditions.

**1.23 Thy princes are rebellious, companions of thieves, loving bribes, seeking after rewards; not  
390 pleading for orphans, and not heeding the cause of widows.**

This accusation of them is necessary. For faith does not suffice for salvation, but it is necessary to practice virtue. For this reason, as previously, after commanding them to approach the saving baptism, he prescribed the other virtues to be done by them. However after the accusation he threatens them with punishment:

**1.24 Therefore, thus saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts (Sabaoth), Woe to the mighty men of Israel; for my**

400 **wrath shall not cease against mine adversaries, and  
I will execute on mine enemies.**

Symmachos and Theodotion interpret "Lord of Sabaoth" as "Lord of Powers," and Aquilas interprets it as "Lord of Armies." They concur on the meaning then, for we normally  
405 call the military "the power." The king of the heavens has an invincible army — the invisible powers. He calls the same person the power of Israel, because through the wondrous miracles which he performed for the sake of Israel, he showed the proper power. He calls them "adversaries" because of  
410 their continued opposition and "enemies" because of their hostility.

**1.25-26a And I will bring my hand upon thee, and  
purge thee completely, and I will destroy the rebel-  
lious and will take away from thee all transgressors.**  
415 **And I will establish thy judges as before, and thy  
counsellors as at the beginning.**

Once again he mentioned the judgement and promised to purge those who were worthy with fire, but not completely burning them, but rather to make them excellent and ones  
420 who have passed the test. This is the grace of baptism. For this reason the holy John the Baptist proclaimed, "*I baptize you with water for repentance, but he who is coming after me is mightier than I, whose sandals I am not worthy to carry; he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire*" (Mt  
425 3.11). It is also the grace of the All-Holy Spirit which on the day of Pentecost appeared to the Holy Apostles distributing tongues of fire. This is why he promised cleansing with fire to those who believed. He threatens those who dispute him because of their arrogance with humiliation. . . . He likens  
430 those who received the Gospel to the holy prophets.

**1.26b and afterward thou shalt be called the city of  
righteousness, the faithful mother city Sion.**

It is not grandeur, nor beautiful buildings, nor a great  
435 number of inhabitants which are promised to her, but righteousness and faith, for they are the mother of those who believe. For this reason they come to her, those who desire. They come not to see the greatness of her ramparts, nor the

height of her towers, nor the columns, nor the marbles, but  
the Tomb of the Lord, his Cross, and the small famous  
440 manger.

**1.27-28 For her captives shall be saved with judgement, and with mercy. And the transgressors and the sinners shall be crushed together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be utterly consumed.**

445 He mixed justice with mercy to those who had insulted the Cross then repented. He granted salvation to those displaying repentance. To those who suffered misfortunes and to those who became captives he did not destroy together. Those he handed over to total destruction.

450 **1.29 For they shall be ashamed of their idols, which they delighted in, and they are made ashamed of the gardens which they coveted.**

It is with reason that he is concerned with the present and that he recalls these practices. Because of their zealous  
455 defense of the law they did not accept Christ the Savior when he was present. He recalls their many impieties. They filled the city with idols. They planted trees to those idols, and in the markets, in the homes, and on the terraces they offered sacrifices to the demons. Doing these things they did not think  
460 they were transgressing the law. Once again he presents the prediction of the desolation.

**1.30 For they shall be as a turpentine<sup>5</sup> tree that has cast its leaves, and as a garden that has no water.**

Abandoning all the fruit bearing trees, he likens the  
465 desolation of the city to a turpentine tree which has lost its leaves. It is like a tree planted in dry places having desiccated branches. He likens them to a paradise without any water, for no longer do they enjoy the prophetic "streams," nor do they receive the refreshment from above.

470 **1.31a And their strength shall be as a thread of tow**

<sup>5</sup>The word used is terebinth in the original, which Theodoret also uses. Turpentine is one translation of the word; in other editions terebinth is translated as oak tree.

**and their works as sparks.**

The stalk of hemp is easily burned. It is natural that he compares their strength to the stalk of hemp, and their evil works to fire. For their wickedness strips away divine providence and destroys the strength given to them. **1.31b and the transgressors and the sinners shall be burnt up together and there shall be none to quench them.** Is God the one who punishes or the one who delivers? He said through the great Moses, *"I kill and I will make to live. I will smite, and I will heal; and there is none who shall deliver out of my hands"* (Deut 32.39). Since therefore knowing this, it is fitting to fear and tremble because *"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God"* (Heb 10.31).

So then, with this the prophet completed the first vision. We who are being entreated by the book will take a brief pause to give glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

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and salvation are not mechanically dispensed, as in Roman Catholicism.

Throughout, the authoritarian side of the Papacy (the Pope as the supreme authority) is pointed out as firmly established in the Roman Catholic tradition, even though "There is simply no historical data to support such an idea" (p. 51). For the Orthodox the authority of the Church rests in its general conscience, as expressed in the synods of the Church. For the Orthodox the supreme authority is Christ himself, for he alone is Head of the Church.

The authors of *The Roman West and the Byzantine East* want to recall the attention of Orthodox readers to the principal features of their religious beliefs as distinct from Western beliefs (both Catholic and Protestant) and "In this return to the criterion of an authentic faith, Orthodox and non-Orthodox have a common task — they are joined in a unity of spirit and effort. Their common discovery, indeed, is what eventually bridges the chasm between East and West, bringing the East to what it should be and the West to what it was. In this lies for us traditional Orthodox the ultimate Christian witness of brotherhood and love" (p. 59).

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*Trinity and Society*. Leonardo Boff. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989. Pp. 236. \$26.95, cloth, \$13.95, paper.

Unlike much of liberation theology, this volume does not begin with a social analysis of the present situation, but in many respects presents a very classical patristic and biblical survey of trinitarian teachings and their sources. This author, and others have been criticized for not giving sufficient attention to the late nineteenth and early social magisterium of the Catholic Church. This volume is a substantial answer to that critique, grounding the scientific reflection on anthropology, ecclesiology and social ethic demanded of the Christian in the contemporary situation not in natural law or particular judgements, but in the very inner being of God confessed in praise and creedal affirmation.

The book surveys the classical heresies, places them in their social location as well as explicates their theological content. It

surveys the modern reflections from Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant scholars and evaluates them in terms of both the traditional patristic debates and of their contemporary relevance. Particular attention is given to the development of the understanding of communion among the three persons and perichoresis/circumcencession. The implications of these formulations for the relationships between human persons and the relationships to which Christians are committed in society by this trinitarian confession are a focal point of Boff's development. While the treatment covers the classical formulations and developments in some depth, it is not naive about language, giving adequate space to the apophatic understanding of religious affirmation. The divergent developments of East and West are well treated, and his suggestions for resolution of the *filioque* dispute are ecumenically hopeful.

Of particular note are his treatment of the intimate relation of the immanent and economic trinity and their implications for the human community. He is very attentive to the development of the usage of "person" and how this language has shifted in the modern context from its patristic origin. The significance of trinitarian teaching in the theological imagination are treated under the headings of: piety, society, anthropology, family, church, archetypes and material and formal symbolism.

In addition to the theme of *koinonia* of the trinitarian persons and its implications for ecclesiology and societal relationships, the themes of life and vitality, paternity and maternity, and dynamic interrelationship are spelled out in their ethical implications. His speculations on the maternal paternity of the Father and of the feminine attributes of the Spirit and the special relationship of Mary to the Holy Spirit provide fresh and nonreductive avenues for discussing the gender transcendence of the triune God. As systematic reflection, some of these suggestions will need wide discussion and critique before final judgements can be made as to their validity as expressions of the tradition of the Church.

While the book is a systematic treatise of academic soundness, the author does not avoid long sections on the doxological character of the trinitarian confession and the implications for Christian piety of the relationship with the three persons of the Godhead. This volume will provide a useful antidote to those who make an unbiblical, and untenable, dichotomy between systematic theology and social ethics. This fifth volume of the fifty-volume series, "Cris-

tianismo y Sociedad” (Teologia y Liberacao in Portugese) shows the promise of a resource that will be a bench mark in the development of this young and tentative development in Christian reflection.

*Jeffrey Gros, FSC*  
Commission on Faith and Order, NCCCUSA

*The Sacrament of Love*

*The Married Saints of the Church.* By Mark Moses. Athens: Akritas, 1988. Pp. 277 (in Greek).

*Introduction*

Love is a supremely vital force in human relations. Its divine origin allows of no objectivization, no definitive systematization, no exhaustive categorization. Human love, in its genuine expression at least, can be a glorious image of divine love. Unfortunately, a great deal of our discourse on human love is tainted, not so much by wrong ideas and practices as by a dissociation of life, whereby the physical is detached from the spiritual and relegated to an inferior level. So, to come to terms with sexuality is largely a matter of recognizing that it is in itself bound by God to the deepest and most creative aspects of human nature.

Christians often express the fear that human love may lead to idolatry or to self-indulgence. This apprehension accounts for the moralism and legalism of talk on sexuality. Yet the real challenge of love is to move beyond oneself at all times towards another person. In speaking, therefore, of human love, one must recognize that life is full of people profoundly wounded in the ways of love, particularly sexual love. One may never be certain as to whether this damage could have been avoided. Instead one must always preserve a fidelity to the vision of man and woman true to themselves in their wholeness and freedom. It cannot, of course, be stressed too much that love as mere appropriation and exploitation leads to a defective understanding and appreciation of it, and to the degradation of both man and woman. One must accept the view that love and sexuality are ways of transfiguration, paths more powerful than death (Songs of Songs 8.6).

The work of an erudite Athonite monk has, in this respect, much

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## Women in the Church: Some Current Issues in Perspective

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### BISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS

MORE THAN A DECADE AGO AT PRINCETON, I HEARD THE FAMOUS behavioral psychologist B. F. Skinner address a group of social scientists. After the talk, a rather bold student in one of my preceptorials asked Professor Skinner about his famous dismissal of reflective consciousness and the mind as a "black box," noting that concepts should be dismissed with thought, not epithets. Skinner was uncharacteristically nervous and somewhat less than articulate in his response. The situation being uneasy enough, my student's comment on this response produced a memorable and discomforting end to this exchange — but one which has always remained with me because of its wisdom. "Professor Skinner," the young and audacious student advised, "answers should speak *to*, not around, about, through, and beyond a question. We should talk about questions, not our opinions about how to dismiss them."

In the spirit of my former student's audacity, I would like to offer some comments on the role of women in the Orthodox Church. To this end, an article by Verna Harrison (a lay theologian in the OCA and a student of Patristics), recently reprinted from an American church periodical in the British journal *Sourozh*,<sup>1</sup> has proved valuable to me. Dr. Harrison has identified six separate questions that seem to capture the undercurrents of concern among women in the Orthodox Church in North America. Drawing on

<sup>1</sup> Verna Harrison, "Reflections and Concerns on Women's Role[s] in Orthodox Churches," *Sourozh* 33 (1988) 43-49; reprinted from *The Orthodox Church* (Nov. 1987) 6-8.

her insights, I will consider these six areas of concern in turn, focusing my consideration precisely on the question of women and their ecclesiastical role *as the Church has addressed it*. I think that we will find that the great “unanswered” questions of contemporary Orthodoxy have been adequately answered by the Fathers, and only because we look “beyond” the questions which Dr. Harrison has so precisely articulated — or because we pose the wrong questions — do we find the answers of the Fathers poor or inadequate.

Dr. Harrison’s study begins by noting that the six problems which she classifies constitute an impediment to women who might wish to enter the Orthodox Church and, for both potential converts and women already in the Church, sometimes occasional “mental anguish” and “spiritual crisis.”<sup>2</sup> One must appreciate these matters from a pastoral standpoint. But they are just that: “pastoral.” We must not go “beyond” them. The ultimate concern in understanding the role of women in the Orthodox Church is theological. Women enter into the Church for a single purpose: that of joining themselves to the salvific life of its Mysteries. Any human being, man or woman, must focus, above all things, as Father John Romanides has so strikingly noted, on the Christian’s constant, two-sided struggle *against* evil and *for* selfless love, in the course of which we are joined to Christ and to his triumphant renewal of the human soul and psyche.<sup>3</sup> This applies both to men and women *in* the Church and to those about to enter it.

Certainly it is true that mental anguish and moments of spiritual crisis will beset the Christian warrior, as we have implied above, and these things present a pastoral challenge. But this challenge is secondary to the theological responsibility of the Church to teach the universal message of human restoration, transformation, and divinization. I dare say that a woman who would forego conversion to the Orthodox Church on the basis of doubts about women’s roles in the Church has nothing but the most superficial understanding of what the Church is. Her conversion, were it to hinge on her perception of the status of females in the Church, would be something less than a conversion. If mental anguish and moments

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> John S. Romanides, “The Ecclesiology of St. Ignatius of Antioch,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 7 (1962) 62-64. See also Bishop Chrysostomos, “Demonology in the Orthodox Church: A Psychological Perspective,” *ibid.* 33 (1988) 45-61, esp. p. 48f.

of spiritual crisis are to be treated, this treatment occurs within the Church. The pastor works *within* the flock. Moreover, once again these individual problems should not distort the theological focus of the Church. If personal problems with regard to self-esteem and stature within the Church usurp its salvific concerns, then we have turned the Church upside down. The resolution of pastoral problems proceeds *from* the Church's theology: as one modern Greek theologian has put it, theology is "a therapeutic science."<sup>4</sup> Let us, then, put pastoral problems in perspective and separate them from the larger picture of the Church's evangelical witness.

The first problem which Dr. Harrison cites is the practice of carrying babies into the altar at baptism. She notes that, in modern practice, males are now carried into the altar, while females are not. In fact, this practice is appropriate to "churching," not to baptism, though it nonetheless occurs in both circumstances. Saint Symeon of Thessalonike points out that both girls and boys may be taken around the altar in this ceremony, so that the Church shows absolutely no prejudice in this matter. Traditionally, the ceremony symbolizes dedication to God and contains the hope that the young child might one day serve in the priesthood. The fact that female deacons have died out in the Church makes it perfectly logical for males only to be taken into the altar. One need not impute to this practice some negative assessment of women. Symbol is always consistent with purpose, so that the modern practice, though it does not strictly forbid that female infants be taken into the altar, is logical. To imagine that female infants are not taken into the altar to avoid "offense"<sup>5</sup> is to attribute to the Church motivations which are simply not there. With such attributions we raise questions which the Church never raised. And finally, the distortion of focus in this issue is highlighted by the fact that anyone would wish to concentrate on a small rubric in a long service that is certainly not denied to women. We wonder if the fabric is not being lost on the thread.

The second of the problems enumerated in Dr. Harrison's study is the exclusion of women from the altar; i.e., the prohibition against women entering beyond the *templon* (*iconostasion*). Once again,

<sup>4</sup> Ierotheos C. Vlachos, *Orthodoxe Psychotherapeia* [*Orthodox Psychotherapy*]. (Edessa, Greece, 1986), p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Harrison, "Reflections," p. 44.

the concerns here are about practices that stem more from ignorance and abuse of Church tradition than from legitimate questions about Church practice. Men and women alike should refrain from entering the "holy of holies," since the altar symbolizes the heavenly realm. Only those who are blessed for service in the altar should enter (and this blessing — part of an actual service of appointment — can be bestowed on women), and then only with care, awe, and reverence (and this includes members of the priesthood).

Indeed, women who have a function in the altar can be blessed to enter in precisely the same way as men. It is not true, however, that abbesses stand in the altar during services in Greece<sup>6</sup> (such a rubric has no purpose), nor should women routinely enter the altar to clean. Deacons have this duty and are perfectly able to carry it out. In a place where even the presbyter and bishop are advised not to touch the altar or sacred implements unnecessarily and without respect for their divine appointment, how can one seriously suggest that somehow women are restored to a better image by entering into the altar to clean it? Again, the Church's guidelines are based in piety and respect for the holy, not in disrespect for women.

"Little girls sometimes ask why their brothers get to serve in the altar and they do not."<sup>7</sup> This is the third concern cited by Dr. Harrison. The question here is not one of who has privileges and who does not, but one of who has responsibility and who does not. Immature questions demand mature answers. It is the nature of the world that everything that we perceive as something that we want — our desire to have or to do what others have or do — is not always for us. This is the first thing that the Church teaches in its hierarchy of responsibilities in the ministry. If we miss this point, we bring up concerns that do not belong to the Church. Humble submission to responsibility helps to forego any arrogance associated with rank. Learning to see that submission in others helps us to learn humility ourselves.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> The role of humility in understanding the relationship between the sexes and ecclesiastical rank in the Orthodox Church I have discussed at some length in an earlier paper. See Archimandrite Chrysostomos, "Women in the Orthodox Church: Brief Comments from a Spiritual Perspective," *Orthodox Life* 31 (1981) 34-39.



Once again, we run the risk, here, of addressing the wrong question when we ask why young girls cannot serve in the altar. The question, if we are to seek any correctives in this situation, is this: “*Who* can serve in the altar?” As we have suggested, only those who are appointed can do so, and this when they have a specific purpose in the altar. In fact, little boys are allowed in the altar in the hope that they will be inspired to serve in the priesthood. Until young women are also set aside for this purpose, their presence in the altar has no meaning. The practice of having boys or girls filling the altar so that the parents can comment on how “cute” they are, or so that their children can feel that they have a “place” in the Church, is wholly un-Orthodox and bespeaks a lack of spiritual orientation. Such issues should not even be addressed — though perhaps the abuses associated with them should be abolished.

Dr. Harrison centers the fourth problem on what some women believe to be an apparent contradiction: that of allowing women to sing and read in Church at only certain points, despite their sometimes “great talent” for reading and singing. In the first place, reading and singing are not an occasion for performing. Talent is not the issue. Service to the Church is the issue. Ideally, men and women appointed to such service should consider themselves part of the clergy, should fast before participating in the service, and should approach their service with the humility and self-effacement appropriate to the clergy, who are humble servants of the people of God. We are not fighting for a “chance to read”<sup>9</sup> in the services, but only responding to an awesome call.

It is astonishing, in the second place, that we know so little of Orthodox liturgics these days. There are different ranks in the Church. This is obvious in the distinction between deacons, presbyters, and bishops. It is not so obvious in singers, readers, and psaltai, simply because we do not correctly distinguish between the roles of each in the services. If we did, then Dr. Harrison would not be in a quandary as to why one may read one part of a service, yet not another. These practices are an issue not of what “women” should do, but how the services are properly done. The confusion lies not in attitudes towards women, but in the modern ignorance of proper liturgical practice.

<sup>9</sup> Harrison, “Reflections,” p. 45.

To attribute a spirit of "discrimination" to the practice of excluding women from reading in church is a bit extreme.<sup>10</sup> In the early Church, simple monks and nuns routinely left out of their daily services any parts which were appointed to psaltai, readers, or priests, doing so out of respect for the dignity of those called to these ranks. This spirit of humility disallowed any thoughts about "discrimination" against the "lowly monastics." By the same token, the role of men in public worship, which we received from the Jewish society in which Christianity was fostered, should not evoke thoughts of discrimination. Rather women should be relieved to have the burden of public service — a responsibility, not a privilege — taken from them. When women are called on to serve in these capacities, as they often are, they should serve in the same humility with which ideal monastics accept a hierarchy of rank: overcome by a sense of unworthiness (a sense demanded of spiritual men and women) in this calling. This is the way to peace in the Church. Discrimination ultimately lies in the personal claim to privilege and prejudice against this mandate of humility.

A fifth area of concern identified by Dr. Harrison is the language of the Liturgy. She notes that many women wonder why we do not entreat that Christ have mercy on us, for example, "through the prayers of our holy Fathers and Mothers," though she observes that the Church knows that women and men are included in such prayers.<sup>11</sup> Here again we can easily address the wrong question. Why should we change texts of our prayers arbitrarily because some people do not understand that liturgical language is inclusive? We who have been reared in strict tradition complete the Liturgy by retreating to our cells and reciting the Jesus Prayer for some time, in order to ask forgiveness for any words that we may have left out of the Liturgy (the "Divine Liturgy" we should remind the reader, which contains "sanctified words," as one Father has noted). Imagine our reaction to clergy who change the words of the prayers ordained by our Fathers so as to avoid misunderstanding or a suggestion of discrimination.

More precisely the issue here is this: return the faithful to an understanding of what the Liturgy is and what its language means. Teach them that the male imagery of liturgical language encom-

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. p. 46.

passes the female and that male imagery in spiritual things has a deep theological meaning, rising above the concerns of gender and the cheap competition between the sexes that marks certain modern social movements and linguistic styles (e.g., the infantile practice of routinely labeling ostensibly “non-inclusive” language as “sexist”). As well, our religion is not one for the ignorant. If society at large — a society in which one quarter of the inhabitants of Great Britain cannot find their country on a map (and let us not cite statistics for Americans!) — cannot understand that “he” and “men” are not only gender-specific terms, but generic terms that encompass men and women, that is fine. But the Church need not reduce itself to the caprice of an age dealing with illiteracy at a literary level. Had the Church done so in the past, we would not have our beautiful liturgies. If it does so in the present, we will lose them.

The final and sixth issue which Dr. Harrison pinpoints is the problem of women not communing during their periods. The arguments which she cites address questions that should not be questions for the Church, and thus skirt the seriousness of the issues that are actually pertinent to this problem. In the first place, many Orthodox have deviated from an understanding of the canons, holy guidelines established by those experienced in the faith and enlightened by the Holy Spirit. We glibly say that the canons are outdated. They are not. We claim that they do not address contemporary issues. They do. We act as though they have no theological content. We do so unjustly. For example, the canons, not male whim, forbid women from communing during their periods, just as men may not commune after a nocturnal emission. This is not because men are dirty and sinful, or because “a natural physiological process”<sup>12</sup> is a barrier against communion. It is because we are fallen in our natures. “Natural physiological processes” need not be sinful to fall short of the spiritual ideal to which we are called in body and soul. Basic theology tells us this. We lift ourselves above our physiological natures, above even the goodness which remains in our fallen natures, when we join ourselves to Christ. We fast, approach the chalice with the greatest purity, and prepare ourselves internally for communion with Christ, so that the best that we are may be joined to his perfection. Let

<sup>12</sup>Ibid. p. 47.

us, here, turn to the canons and to the Fathers, not to architectural claims to "equal access."<sup>13</sup> Let us adhere to the rubrics of humility, by which we come bowing down to Christ with "fear" and love.

What man would wish to commune in a polluted state, bringing to that which has no communion with the unclean (as Saint Gregory Palamas says) the least — rather than the greatest — that the human has to offer? What woman, then, would wish to approach the chalice in anything but the purest state? The issue is not one of creating the greatest distance between us and our "sin," but between those fallen characteristics that stain us and those higher qualities that can potentially elevate us to participation in divinity. Communion is an awesome responsibility and a fire that can burn as quickly as it can purify. It is not a privilege. And though we should commune frequently, holy Communion is not something to be taken as part of a "weekly routine." Given all of this, one can see no reason, save disrespect for holy Tradition, for any man or woman to commune when the external signs — though not sinful in and of themselves — of the distorted, fallen nature of the human being are made manifest. The issue is not one of whether women are "offended" by the Church's traditions, but whether we offend God by an impious attitude towards those traditions. This is the Orthodox approach.<sup>14</sup>

In this final question, as in the others which Dr. Harrison has identified, we see that women's concerns and reflections can often go beyond those truly essential questions of the Church: How do we develop humility? How do we maintain self-esteem in knowing that we are sinful? How do we avoid competition between the sexes and bring ourselves to realize that any inequities in the Church are there to challenge us, not to arrogance and revolution, but to humility and submission?

If men play roles in the Church that women do not, let us attribute this to providence. If deaconesses have died out in the priesthood, let us attribute this at least in part to God's providence. And if they revive, let us be patient, encouraging words and discussion, not quick action and protest, the latter belonging to the world

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>I have treated this entire issue of women and Communion during the period in my response to Fr. Thomas Hopko's discussion of the BEM document. See Bishop Chrysostomos, "BEM and Orthodox Spirituality," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 32 (1987) 51-68.

and not to God. Ultimately, women, like men, are called to concerns about fasting, prayer, and the path to union with God, none of which allows time to speculate over small problems that move us away from the greater issues of human salvation. Like the Amma Sarah, who lived for more than sixty years above a beautiful river which she never visited, spending her days in spiritual exercise and attaining to great holiness, so we must forego the distractions of the flow of daily life. These little matters which somehow upset our delicate egos pale before the battle for our souls.

Let us attempt in every effort to view the Church in an atmosphere of humility and service. The Church is the kingdom of humility and self-abasement here amidst a world of self-aggrandizement and competition. It should be a refuge in which none of the perhaps justified struggles for equity and human rights in the secular world enter in. And in turn, it will offer up to us a new vision, a new hope, and a spirit of peace to soothe us in our anguish and times of crisis.

This point was made abundantly clear to me once when I visited a large convent of Old Calendarist zealots in Greece. I arrived during the Liturgy with my spiritual father, a bishop. When we rang the bell at the gate, hoping to enter to see the pious abbess, we were told that services were in progress. So as not to distract the younger nuns, only one man, the server (always an elderly priest), was permitted to attend. We thus had to wait outside for the services to end, when the abbess finally received us. My spiritual father, rather than taking offense at being asked to wait for this period of time, sat with me and spoke in awe of the strictness, piety, and care that the sisters of the convent had preserved in their spiritual lives. We went away from the place benefited. Such is the spirit that we must foster in the face of Church tradition.

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